

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Washington, D. C.
March 4, 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself -- nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds

is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been

cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position

are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by

preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress, in special session, detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves

to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States -- a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor -- the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others -- the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now

realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of

territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis -- broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONFERENCE OF RELIEF ADMINISTRATORS
EXECUTIVE OFFICES OF THE WHITE HOUSE

June 14, 1933, 2.30 P.M.

(Mr. Hopkins: "Mr. President, these are the Administrators of Relief in the 48 States of the Union, Puerto Rico and Alaska, also the Governors of several States who have been good enough to come to our meetings. I shall appreciate it very much if you will say a word to us.")

THE PRESIDENT: This is a very large and happy family party. I think we are going to get on top of this problem very soon with your help.

As you probably know, I go back quite a long way in this relief work. It was three years ago, very nearly, when I was Governor of New York, that we passed a perfectly unheard of relief bill -- 25 million dollars for one year's expenditures -- and Harry Hopkins took charge of it. We did a great deal and I learned a lot about relief work from him in his work. That is the reason I brought him down here to Washington when we started this work.

All the time during the campaign I think both parties made it fairly clear, especially, I might add, the democratic party, that there was a certain principal involved and that holds just as good today as it did last year. It is this: That the first responsibility of taking care of people out of work who are lacking housing or clothing

or food -- that the first charge is against the locality and then, if the locality had done everything that it possibly could do, then it was the duty of the State to step in and do all the State could possibly do and, when the State could do no more, then it was the obligation of the Federal Government. That is why we have the present relief bill.

Now of course we are tackling this thing, as you know, on a great many fronts at the same time. We have got not only this actual relief fund of the Federal Government, which is to supplement the work of the localities and of the States, but we are helping to improve things through three or four other measures that are going to count very greatly in giving people work.

You all know about the first one passed in March -- that was the CCC camps. We actually have 235,000 men enrolled in those camps at the present time. More are in the preliminary camps -- not all out in the woods but they will be very shortly. By the fifteenth of July we will have 275,000 people all actually at work in the woods. It is a pretty good record which I think can be compared with the mobilization carried on in 1917.

Then there is this bill which was passed yesterday and which gives us two very large measures of work relief. The first is the section of the bill relating to industrial control. We are going to get that started just

as fast as we humanly can. Just to give you an illustration, it has been estimated by the cotton industry alone that the code which they are going to propose to us for the cotton industry, through the shortening of hours alone, will put to work about 130,000 more people than are working at the present time. Now, that is just one industry and that will be a big help. If all the major industries within the next month or two do the same thing, it means we will be able to put several millions more people back to work.

Then the other part of the bill is the public works end of the bill, which carries with it the largest peacetime appropriation that has been passed in the history of any country in the world -- \$3,300,000,000 for public works of various kinds. Our object will be to spread those public works relatively in proportion to the need in the various parts of the country. We will start on projects that will give the largest percentage of actual labor expenditures and the smallest percentage of expenditures that do not go into labor. That will get started in the next few months.

The result of these things is that on your relief problem you are going to find, because of these other measures, that your task will get easier and easier as time goes on.

Now then, as to this relief money that the Federal Government is putting up, I think it should be made perfectly clear that it is only to be used where the localities have done everything that they can possibly be asked to do, both through private charity and public appropriation, and that the State Governments have done everything that they could possibly do within reason. If that is not sufficient and the Federal funds are needed, that is where these funds come in.

I prepared a little statement here for the Press which I will read to you more as a matter of record than anything else. It is very short.

The Emergency Relief Act is an expression of the Federal Government's determination to co-operate with the States and local communities with regard to financing emergency relief work. It means just that. It is essential that the States and local units of government do their fair share. They must not expect the Federal Government to finance more than a reasonable proportion of the total. It should be borne in mind by the State authorities and by the five thousand local relief committees, now functioning throughout the land, that there are four million families in need of the necessities of life.

Obviously the Federal Relief Administrator should put as much responsibility as possible on the State Administration. This means a competent set-up in each state, preferably a commission of five or six well known citizens, who will not only administer the relief in a business-like way but entirely apart from partisan politics. The only way relief officials can be assured that people are getting relief who need relief is to have competent administration.

We are not passing the buck to you but we are asking you to pull your own weight in the boat. As to politics, I don't know how we are going to get away from politics, Democratic politics, in the South. (Laughter) Judging by the vote in South Carolina last year, it went 50 to 1, one way.

It is essential that there be effective coordination of relief and public works in all communities. While an important factor in setting up a public works program is speed, there is no intention of using the public works funds simply to build a lot of useless projects disguised as relief. It is the purpose to encourage real public works. One function of public works in an emergency is to provide a bridge by which people can pass from relief status over to normal self-support. Partisan politics must play no part in the carrying out of this work. The use of public works as a means of rational redistribution of population from congested centers to more wholesome surroundings where people can have a chance to lead normal life will be encouraged.

That is one of my pet children and has been for a great many years, and applies where we have the kind of congestion in industrial communities that will remain congestion and bring unemployment even in times of prosperity. We have to do something to get that particular burden out of the community and spread them around where they will have more elbow room and raise a large part of their own food supply.

It is a primary purpose of my administration to cooperate with the States and with industry to secure work opportunities for as many of the unemployed as possible, by which they will find employment through normal channels. But until those jobs are available the Federal Government, States and every local community must provide relief for every genuinely needy unemployed person in America.

I know that I can count on your full and complete cooperation with the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator and I can assure you on his behalf of a sympathetic understanding of your problems and of decisive action when that is necessary.

And so all I can tell you now is, "Go to it and God bless you." We will help you all we can. Goodbye.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Before the 1933 Mobilization
for Human Needs Conference
September 8, 1933

Mr. Secretary of State, and you who are the leaders in this cause for the alleviation of human needs:

I have been somewhat occupied during the past 48 hours with human needs in other parts of the world, outside of our own country -- occupied in the hope that the United States would not have to act outside of their own quarters, in the hope that another Republic will be able to solve its own difficulties just as we are seeking to solve our difficulties. And, so, I have no set speech to deliver to you today.

I want to talk to you very simply and very briefly in regard to what might be called the "Whole of the Picture". You are not the whole of the picture and neither am I, but the Nation is. Our task, I think, is to complete the whole of the picture and not leave any unfinished portion thereof.

As you know, the many Governments in the United States, the Federal Government, the 48 state governments, and the tens of thousands of local governments are doing their best to meet what has been in many ways one of the most serious crises in history. On the whole, they have done well. The Federal Government cannot, by any means,

accomplish the task alone. The Government has, during these past months, entered into many fields of human endeavor that it has never participated in before.

I believe we Americans do not wish to see a permanent extension of purely Government operations carried to the extent of relieving us of our individual responsibilities as citizens, and it is with that thought in mind that very early in this Administration we laid down in regard to one portion of this great picture a somewhat simple rule.

When we came to the problem of meeting the emergency of human needs, we did not rush blindly in and say, "The Government will take care of it." We approached it from the other angle first. We said to the people of this country, "When you come to the problem of relief, you face the individual family, the individual man, woman and child who lives in a particular locality and the first objective and the first necessity is that the citizens of that community, through the churches, the community chest, the social and charitable organizations of the community, are going to be expected to do their share to their utmost extent first." Then we come to this second need or objective and that is the participation of local government in the additional need.

We demand that local government shall do its share to the utmost, and then, if that is not sufficient, if those two features did not meet the needs, we come to the next unit, the State, and if that still is not enough, if the State has done everything it reasonably should do, then obviously the Federal Government must step in, because, while it isn't written in the Constitution, nevertheless, it is the inherent duty of the Federal Government to keep its citizens from starvation. Of course, in an organization of that kind, I suppose that there is a certain tendency to feel, "if we don't do it, the Federal Government will". Municipalities or counties feel, "if we don't do it the State Government will", or a local organization, private organization, and individuals say, "Well, if we don't do it, the municipalities will". In other words, putting the burden on somebody else with the general thought in the back of our heads "if we don't do it somebody else will". And, in the last analysis the kindness of Uncle Sam will see to it that we don't fail.

We have had a great many examples of late of areas in this country, areas which have not done their share and are coming, hat in hand to the Federal Government, and saying, "We want Federal relief." There have been states which

have not done their share -- states where the problems of relief have gotten mixed up with politics; legislatures that are thinking in political and not in human terms. There are municipalities which are going ahead with the spending of the taxes for political purposes and then find they haven't any money left for relief purposes.

I am glad to say that those individual cases are diminishing in number because the people of this country understand it and are telling the government bodies, local or state, that they have got to "play ball" and not shirk. There are a lot of cases which are so close to the border line of emergency that they do not belong to the border relief problem.

Yesterday, the Governor of South Dakota came to my office with some extraordinary pictures of farm lands where grasshoppers had devoured everything down to the roots. Where there isn't anything left for man or beast to eat; where many thousands of farmers are not faced just with the temporary problem of being helped out a little here and a little there but with the fact that neither they nor their livestock have any chance of getting anything to live on until next summer sometime, there is an emergency. We are going to try to take care of it as an emergency. It comes very close to the

borderline -- where the Red Cross has got to step in because it is a peculiar kind of disaster and does not result from flood or fire.

There are cases in some of the coal mining sections of this country where families have been starving week in and week out over a long period of time and where the community or the state failed to do their share. These are not disasters in the same sense or with the same results that grasshoppers and floods are responsible. The point I want to make is this. You have a very great opportunity, not merely to keep people from starving. You have a further opportunity of inculcating the understanding that we have to build from the bottom up -- not merely to supply food from the top down. There will be a tendency this year in obtaining the wherewithal for local relief for people to say, "We can't do it." I believe that they can do it, bigger this year and more generously, more successfully this year than they could last. Taking it by and large, the country is in a much more hopeful frame of mind. People have more money to spend and more time in which to do it. It isn't only the fact that a great many people have already been put back to work, the fact that people of property have been getting more from rents; there are fewer defaults on bonds and mortgages.

I believe today that you can go forth, in the spirit of the N.R.A., and work under it. You, of course, are going to work a great deal more than forty hours a week. I want to tell you that you are hereby absolved from the N.R.A. -- if you want to work 70 hours a week, go to it. The executive branches of the United States Government, and some of the other branches of the Government also are exempt.

I think you must go into this campaign with the right to expect greater success this year than last. Tell everybody that we are a little bit like the old railroad train that has to travel up a long grade. The first thing to do is to get that train started and the more we can accelerate the pace of that train, the more certain it is that it is going to get over the top. We have got the train started and it is running, let us say, twenty miles an hour. We must get that train to go forty miles an hour and then there is an assurance that it will go over the top.

All of this community chest work, all of this uniting in the cause of meeting human needs, is based on that old word "cooperation". During the war when I was on the other side, the Prime Minister of England, Lloyd George, was lunching with me at the American Embassy one day and our Ambassador said something about our cooperation in winning the war.

Lloyd George turned to me and said, "You Americans are inventive -- you have imagination -- will you please send word back home that the British Government will offer a prize of 10,000 pounds to any American who will discover some other word to take the place of 'cooperation'?" No one has ever won the prize yet.

The point I wish to make is that there are a great many people in this country who are going to say, "Oh, I have given, I am helping through such and such an organization, through such and such an individual, leave me out." There is no such thing as being left out. They can't be left out. They have got to join you. Because, unfortunately, we know the frailty of a certain type of human nature that says something like that as an excuse for not doing his or her part.

The Government cannot get along without you. The Federal, State, local governments can't. The whole period we are going through will come back in the end to individual citizens, to individual responsibility, to private organization, through the years to come. We are going to have unemployed throughout the United States and we know it. I hope, though, the time is going to come when Government will not have to give relief. I hope the time is going to come soon, when everybody who normally wants a permanent job is going

to get it. And so I like to think of Government relief of all kinds as emergency relief.

Your work has a two-fold purpose. You are meeting the emergency and at the same time you are building for the future. Community chests are going to keep on just as long as any of us are alive -- and a mighty good thing they are too.

I tell you very simply that you have a great responsibility on your shoulders and I know that you are going to fulfill it. You are going back to your States and your communities and give them this message from me -- this work is an essential part of the Government's program, the program of the people of the United States to bring us back to where this country has a right to be. So, go to it -- and make a record not only of money but a record of service of which we shall all be very proud.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE GOVERNORS, MAYORS AND CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATORS
ATTENDING THE CIVIL WORKS MEETING
EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE
November 15, 1933, 4 P.M.

(There were about 500 people at this meeting.)

Mr. Hopkins said, "Mr. President, you have before you the Governors of States, the Mayors of our great cities, and Civil Works Administrators who are here to pledge you their devotion and service to this cause which you have created and established." (Applause)

My friends, I will tell you an official secret.

Harry Hopkins wrote out two and a half very excellent pages of suggestions as to what I should say. They are on the desk. I subscribe to his sentiments one hundred per cent. But, I am not going to read them. You will see them printed in the papers tomorrow morning. (Applause -- laughter)

I don't want to talk to you officially, but unofficially and extemporaneously. First of all, I want to thank you for coming here.

This group, representative of the entire country, has in its hands to accomplish something that no nation has ever before done. As you know, during the past eight months we have tried honestly and practically to

face a problem that no other nation in modern history has ever been confronted with. We have heard a great deal of unemployment on the other side, in England, in France, in Germany and in other places, but at no time in any one of those countries has the unemployment situation even approximated the unemployment situation in the United States last Spring. You can figure it at twelve or fourteen or sixteen million, or whatever you like, -- on the basis of population that is a larger percentage of men, women and children out of work and in many cases starving -- in most cases suffering physically and mentally -- a larger proportion than anywhere else.

During these months a great many of our unemployed have gone back to work. The number has been estimated variously at from three and a half to five million. The actual figures make very little difference because there are still a great many, still millions out of employment and this particular effort in which you and I are engaged at the present time is to put four million people from the list of those still unemployed back to work during the Winter months so that we can honestly say as a nation that this Winter is not going to be like last Winter or the Winter before. (Applause)

I like to stress not only the fact of four million, but also the fact that of those four millions of people two million are today on what we might just as well call, frankly, a dole. When any man or woman goes on a dole, something happens to them mentally and the quicker they are taken off the dole the better it is for them during the rest of their lives. (Applause)

We hope we can recruit two million from the ranks of people who perhaps ought to have been on the dole -- perhaps people who were too proud to ask for assistance. In every community most of us know of cases -- many cases -- of families that have been living along, barely subsisting, yet too proud to go and ask for relief. We want to help that type of American family.

Now this work is really and truly a partnership -- a partnership between the Federal Government, the State governments and the local governments -- a partnership in which each one of those three divisions is expected to and is going to do its share. This \$400,000,000 isn't going to cost the Federal Government any more money, because we are taking it out of the large Public Works appropriation of \$3,300,000,000. It is using a portion of that fund in a very practical way.

We might as well be perfectly frank, it has been exceedingly difficult honestly to allot the entire sum of \$3,300,000,000 to worthwhile projects, every one of which has had to be scanned by local authorities, state authorities and finally by the Federal Government. With this allotment, somewhere in the neighborhood of \$2,800,000,000 has been allotted, leaving only about \$500,000,000 that is still to be allotted, most of it to local public works.

I believe the question was raised this morning as to the transfer of some of the projects to which allotments have already been made by Public Works, and I have been asked by the Governor of Wyoming to clear up that point. It is possible that certain allotments already made by Secretary Ickes to Public Works may be transferred to Mr. Hopkins' Civil Works Administration.

The process, I am told, will be to have that request made to the original person who did the allotting -- in other words, the Secretary of the Interior -- and if he approves of the transfer, it will then be made to the Civil Works Administration under Mr. Hopkins. I think that straightens out the question the Governor of Wyoming raised.

Just one word more and I am sort of talking in

the family. We have heard a good many charges and allegations that have been made in regard to relief work, -- the same kind of charges that were made when I was Governor of New York -- charges that politics were entering into the use of Public Works funds and of emergency relief funds.

I want to tell you very, very simply that your national government is not trying to gain political advantage one way or the other out of the needs of human beings for relief. (Applause) We expect the same spirit on the part of every governor of every one of the forty-eight states and on the part of every mayor and every county commissioner and of every relief agent. I would like to have the general rule adopted -- that no person connected with the administration of this \$400,000,000 will in any single case in any political subdivision of the United States ask whether a person needing relief or work is a Republican, Democrat, Socialist or anything else. (Applause)

I am asking you to go ahead and do your share. Most of the work will fall on your shoulders. Most of the responsibility for the practical application of the plan will fall on you rather than on us in Washington. I can assure you that Mr. Hopkins, Secretary Ickes and all of

the people connected with the Federal Government are going to give you cooperation (cooperate) in putting this plan to work quickly.

Speed is an essential. I am very confident that the mere fact of giving real wages to 4,000,000 Americans who are today not getting wages is going to do more to relieve suffering and to lift the morale of the Nation than anything that has ever been undertaken before.

I wish I had the time and the opportunity to shake you all by the hand. I'm afraid that is impossible and that I have got to draw the line somewhere so I am going to ask the Governors of the States to come up and shake me by the hand and I hope that the rest of you will consider that your own individual Governor has shaken hands for you.

Many thanks. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DINNER OF THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION
December 28, 1933, about 10 P.M.

(The following was said extemporaneously and is not in the printed copy released to the Press:)

Mr. Morris, Mrs. Wilson, friends of Woodrow Wilson here in Washington and throughout the land:

Today, on the birthday of President Wilson, I received a very delightful thing, a little memorandum sent to me by Woodrow Wilson's old secretary, Tom Brehaney. The memorandum is dated August, 1919, and it is from the President's secretary and it reads, "For the President: Acting Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt would like to see the President on some urgent matters." And below that there is a pencilled memorandum, "Friday, 15, at 2.30 at the House." Evidently I was told about Friday the 15th at 2.30 and this young Assistant Secretary of the Navy had an engagement in Newport on that date. (Laughter) So, below that again, in typewriting, are these words: "Mr. Roosevelt is leaving tomorrow night for Newport on an inspection trip. He hopes that the President can give him two minutes tomorrow, Thursday, August 14." Then, in pencil again, in the

President's handwriting, he struck out the words, "Friday the 15th", and substituted the words, "Thursday, the 14th, at 12.30 at the White House. W. W., OK." (Applause)

(The President then went on with his printed speech, with interpolations as noted.)

"Comprehension must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship." Those words, used by President Wilson in the Mobile speech in 1913, twenty years ago, can well serve, I think, as a statement of policy by the Government of the United States. That policy applies equally to a comprehension of our internal problems and our international relations.

Woodrow Wilson was a teacher, and when he used that word "comprehension" he meant it not in terms of the statesmen and political leaders and business executives and financial kings; he meant it rather in its application to the peoples of the world who are constantly going to school to learn simple truths in order that they and their neighbors can live their lives more safely, more happily, more fully.

In every continent and in every country Woodrow Wilson accelerated comprehension on the part of the people

themselves. It is, I believe, true that the events of the past ten months have caused a greater interest in government, the problems of government, and the purposes of government than in any similar period in our American history; and yet this recent interest and comprehension would have been impossible for the American people had they not had from Woodrow Wilson the original stimulus, the original understanding of which he spoke twenty years ago.

In that speech in Mobile, President Wilson first enunciated the definite statement "that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." The United States accepted that declaration of policy. The President (Wilson) went further, pointing out with special reference to our Latin American relations, our neighbors, that material interests must never be made superior to human liberty.

Nevertheless, we know that largely as a result of the convulsion of the World War and its after effects, the complete fruition of that policy of unselfishness has not in every case been obtained. And in this we, all of us, in all of these American nations have to share the responsibility.

I do not hesitate to say that if I had, for example, been engaged in a political campaign as a citizen of some other American republic I might have been strongly tempted to play upon the fears of my compatriots of that republic by charging the United States of North America with some form of imperialistic desire for selfish aggrandizement. As a citizen of some other republic I might have found it difficult to believe fully in the altruism of the richest American republic. In particular, as a citizen of some other republic, I might have found it hard to approve of the occupation of the territory of other republics, even as a temporary measure.

It therefore has seemed clear to me as President that the time has come to supplement and to implement the declaration of President Wilson by the further declaration that the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention. (Applause)

The maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving upon the United States alone. (Applause) The maintenance of law and the orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is the concern of each individual nation

within its own borders first of all. It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern; and the point to stress is that in such an event it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors. (Applause)

It is the comprehension of that doctrine -- comprehension not by the leaders alone but by the peoples of all the American republics, that has made the conference now concluding its labors in Montevideo such a (fine) splendid success. A better state of feeling among the neighbor nations of North and Central and South America exists today than at any time within (a generation) the memory of this generation. For participation in the bringing about of that result we can feel proud that so much credit belongs to the Secretary of State of the United States, Cordell Hull. (Applause)

In the wider world field, however, a chain of events has led, we fear, of late, away from rather than towards the ultimate objectives of Woodrow Wilson.

The superficial observer charges this failure to the growth of what the superficial observer calls

the spirit of nationalism. But, in so doing he suggests a nationalism in the wrong sense, a nationalism in its narrower, restrictive sense; he suggests a nationalism of that kind supported by the overwhelming masses of the people themselves in each nation.

I challenge that description of the world population today.

The blame for the danger to world peace lies not in the world population but in the political leaders of that population. (Applause)

In this place about fifteen years ago, the imagination of the masses of world population was stirred, as never before, by President Wilson's gallant appeal to them - to those masses - to banish future war. His appeal meant much to them, but it meant little to the imagination or the hearts of a large number of the so-called statesmen who gathered in Paris to assemble a treaty of so-called peace in 1919. I saw that with my own eyes. I heard that with my own ears. Political profit, personal prestige, national aggrandizement attended the birth of the League of Nations, and handicapped it from its infancy by seeking their own profit and their own safety first.

Nevertheless, through the League directly, or through its guiding motives indirectly, the states of the world, in the years that have gone by, have groped forward to find something better than the old way of composing their differences.

The League has provided a common meeting place; it has provided machinery which serves for international discussion; and in very many practical instances of which you and I know it has helped labor and health and commerce and education, and last but not least, the actual settlement of many disputes great and small between (among) nations great and small.

Today the United States is cooperating openly in the fuller utilization of the League of Nations machinery than ever before. (Applause)

I believe that I express the views of my countrymen when I state that the old policies, the old alliances, the old combinations and balances of power have proved themselves inadequate for the preservation of world peace. The League of Nations, encouraging as it does the extension of non-aggression pacts, of reduction of armament agreements, is a prop in the world peace structure, and it must remain. (Applause)

We are not members and we do not contemplate membership. We are giving cooperation to the League in every matter which is not primarily political and in every matter which obviously represents the views and the good of the peoples of the world as distinguished from the views and the good of political leaders, of privileged classes (or) and of imperialistic aims.

If you figure the world's population at approximately one billion and a half people, you will find it safe to guess that at least 90% of all of (them) that billion and a half of people are today content with the territorial limits of their respective nations and are willing further to reduce their armed forces tomorrow if every other nation in the world will agree to do the same thing. Back of the threat to world peace lies the fear and perhaps even the possibility that the other 10% of the people of the world may go along with a leadership which seeks territorial expansion at the expense of neighbors and which under various pleas in avoidance are unwilling to reduce armament or stop rearmament even if everybody else agrees to non-aggression and to arms reduction.

If that 10% of the world population can be persuaded by the other 90% to do their own thinking and not be so finely led, we will have practical peace, permanent peace, real peace throughout the world. (Applause) As you know, our own country has reduced the immediate steps to this greatest of objectives -- reduced those steps to practical and reasonable terms.

I have said to every nation in the world something to this effect:

1. Let every nation agree to eliminate over a short period of years, and by progressive steps, every weapon of offense that it has in its possession and to create no additional new weapons of offense. That, of course, does not guarantee a nation against invasion unless at the same time (you) we allow the nations to implement (it) that fact with the right to fortify its own border with permanent and non-mobile defenses; and also with the right to assure itself through international continuing inspection that its neighbors are not creating nor maintaining offensive weapons of war.

2. A simple declaration that no nation will permit any of its armed forces to cross its own borders into the territory of another nation. (Applause)
Such an act would be regarded by humanity as an act of aggression and, as an act, therefore, that would call for condemnation by (humanity) the world as a whole.
3. It is clear, of course, that no such general agreement for the elimination of aggression (and) or the elimination of the weapons of offensive warfare would be of any value (to the) in this world unless every nation, without exception, (entered) would enter into (the) such an agreement by solemn obligation. If then such an agreement were signed by a great majority of the nations, an overwhelming majority in my opinion, on the definite condition that it would go into effect only when signed by all the nations, then, my friends, it would be a comparatively easy matter to separate the sheep from the goats, a comparatively simple matter to determine which nations in this enlightened time are willing to go on record by refusing

to sign that pact, willing to go on record as
belonging to the small minority of mankind
which still believes in the use of the sword
for invasion of and attack upon their neighbors.

I did not make this suggestion until I felt assured, after a hard-headed practical survey, that the temper of the overwhelming majority of all men and women in my own country as well as those who make up the world's population, the large majority subscribes to the fundamental objective I have set forth and to the practical road to that objective. The political leaders of many of these peoples interpose and will continue to interpose argument, excuse, befogging amendment - yes, and even ridicule. But I tell them that the men and women they serve are so far in advance of that type of leadership that we could get a world accord on world peace immediately if the people of the world (spoke) could speak for themselves. (Applause)

Through all of the centuries of recorded history and down to the world conflict of 1914 to 1918, wars were made by governments. Woodrow Wilson challenged that necessity. That challenge made the people who create and the

people who change governments think. They wondered with Woodrow Wilson whether the people themselves could not some day prevent governments from making war.

It is but an extension of the challenge of Woodrow Wilson for us to propose in this newer generation that from now on war by governments shall be changed to peace by peoples. (Prolonged applause)

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
January 3, 1934

TO THE CONGRESS:

I come before you at the opening of the Regular Session of the 73d Congress, not to make requests for special or detailed items of legislation; I come, rather, to counsel with you, who, like myself, have been selected to carry out a mandate of the whole people, in order that without partisanship you and I may cooperate to continue the restoration of our national well-being and, equally important, to build on the ruins of the past a new structure designed better to meet the present problems of modern civilization.

Such a structure includes not only the relations of industry and agriculture and finance to each other, but also the effect which all of these three have on our individual citizens and on the whole people as a nation.

Now that we are definitely in the process of recovery, lines have been rightly drawn between those to whom this recovery means a return to old methods -- and the number of these people is small -- and those for whom recovery means a reform of many old methods, a permanent readjustment

of many of our ways of thinking and therefore of many of our social and economic arrangements.

Civilization cannot go back; civilization must not stand still. We have undertaken new methods. It is our task to perfect, to improve, to alter when necessary, but in all cases to go forward. To consolidate what we are doing, to make our economic and social structure capable of dealing with modern life is the joint task of the Legislative, the Judicial, and the Executive Branches of the National Government.

Without regard to party, the overwhelming majority of our people seek a greater opportunity for humanity to prosper and find happiness. They recognize that human welfare has not increased and does not increase through mere materialism and luxury, but that it does progress through integrity, unselfishness, responsibility and justice.

In the past few months, as a result of our action, we have demanded of many citizens that they surrender certain licenses to do as they pleased in their business relationships; but we have asked this in exchange for the protection which the State can give against exploitation by their fellow men or by combinations of their fellow men.

I congratulate this Congress upon the courage, the

earnestness and the efficiency with which you met the crisis at the Special Session. It was your fine understanding of the national problem that furnished the example which the country has so splendidly followed. I venture to say that the task confronting the First Congress of 1789 was no greater than your own.

I shall not attempt to set forth either the many phases of the crisis which we experienced last March, nor the many measures which you and I undertook during the Special Session that we might initiate recovery and reform.

It is sufficient that I should speak in broad terms of the results of our common counsel.

The credit of the Government has been fortified by drastic reduction in the cost of its permanent agencies through the Economy Act.

With the two-fold purpose of strengthening the whole financial structure and of arriving eventually at a medium of exchange which will have over the years less variable purchasing and debt paying power for our people than that of the past, I have used the authority granted me to purchase all American produced gold and silver and to buy additional gold in the world markets. Careful investigation and constant study prove that in the matter of foreign

exchange rates, certain of our sister nations find themselves so handicapped by internal and other conditions that they feel unable at this time to enter into stabilization discussions based on permanent and world-wide objectives.

The overwhelming majority of the banks, both national and state, which reopened last spring, are in sound condition and have been brought within the protection of Federal Insurance. In the case of those banks which were not permitted to reopen, nearly 600 million dollars of frozen deposits are being restored to the depositors through the assistance of the National Government.

We have made great strides towards the objectives of the National Industrial Recovery Act, for not only have several millions of our unemployed been restored to work, but industry is organizing itself with a greater understanding that reasonable profits can be earned while at the same time protection can be assured to guarantee to labor adequate pay and proper conditions of work. Child labor is abolished. Uniform standards of hours and wages apply today to 95% of industrial employment within the field of the National Industrial Recovery Act. We seek the definite end of preventing combinations in furtherance of monopoly and in restraint of trade, while at the same time we seek to prevent ruinous

rivalries within industrial groups which in many cases resemble the gang wars of the underworld and in which the real victim in every case is the public itself.

Under the authority of this Congress, we have brought the component parts of each industry together around a common table, just as we have brought problems affecting labor to a common meeting ground. Though the machinery, hurriedly devised, may need readjustment from time to time, nevertheless I think you will agree with me that we have created a permanent feature of our modernized industrial structure and that it will continue under the supervision but not the arbitrary dictation of government itself.

You recognized last spring that the most serious part of the debt burden affected those who stood in danger of losing their farms and their homes. I am glad to tell you that refinancing in both of these cases is proceeding with good success and in all probability within the financial limits set by the Congress.

But agriculture had suffered from more than its debts. Actual experience with the operation of the Agricultural Adjustment Act leads to my belief that thus far the experiment of seeking a balance between production and consumption is succeeding and has made progress entirely in

line with reasonable expectations towards the restoration of farm prices to parity. I continue in my conviction that industrial progress and prosperity can only be attained by bringing the purchasing power of that portion of our population which in one form or another is dependent upon agriculture up to a level which will restore a proper balance between every section of the country and every form of work.

In this field, through carefully planned flood control, power development and land use policies, in the Tennessee Valley and in other great watersheds, we are seeking the elimination of waste, the removal of poor lands from agriculture and the encouragement of small local industries, thus furthering this principle of a better balanced national life. We recognize the great ultimate cost of the application of this rounded policy to every part of the Union. Today we are creating heavy obligations to start the work and because of the great unemployment needs of the moment. I look forward, however, to the time in the not distant future, when annual appropriations, wholly covered by current revenue, will enable the work to proceed with a national plan. Such a national plan will, in a generation or two, return many times the money spent on it; more important, it will eliminate the use of inefficient tools, conserve and increase

natural resources, prevent waste, and enable millions of our people to take better advantage of the opportunities which God has given our country.

I cannot, unfortunately, present to you a picture of complete optimism regarding world affairs.

The delegation representing the United States has worked in close cooperation with the other American Republics assembled at Montevideo to make that conference an outstanding success. We have, I hope, made it clear to our neighbors that we seek with them future avoidance of territorial expansion and of interference by one nation in the internal affairs of another. Furthermore, all of us are seeking the restoration of commerce in ways which will preclude the building up of large favorable trade balances by any one nation at the expense of trade debits on the part of other nations.

In other parts of the world, however, fear of immediate or future aggression and with this the spending of vast sums on armament, and the continued building up of defensive trade barriers, prevent any great progress in peace or trade agreements. I have made it clear that the United States can not take part in political arrangements in Europe but that we stand ready to cooperate at any time in practicable measures on a world basis looking to immediate reduction of armaments and the lowering of the barriers against commerce.

I expect to report to you later in regard to debts owed the Government and people of this country by the governments and peoples of other countries. Several nations, acknowledging the debt, have paid in small part; other nations have failed to pay. One nation -- Finland -- has paid the installments due this country in full.

Returning to home problems, we have been shocked by many notorious examples of injuries done our citizens by persons or groups who have been living off their neighbors by the use of methods either unethical or criminal.

In the first category -- a field which does not involve violations of the letter of our laws -- practices have been brought to light which have shocked those who believed that we were in the past generation raising the ethical standards of business. They call for stringent preventive or regulatory measures. I am speaking of those individuals who have evaded the spirit and purpose of our tax laws, of those high officials of banks or corporations who have grown rich at the expense of their stockholders or the public, of those reckless speculators with their own or other people's money whose operations have injured the values of the farmers' crops and the savings of the poor.

In the other category, crimes of organized banditry,

cold-blooded shooting, lynching and kidnapping have threatened our security.

These violations of ethics and these violations of law call on the strong arm of government for their immediate suppression; they call also on the country for an aroused public opinion.

The adoption of the 21st Amendment should give material aid to the elimination of those new forms of crime which came from illegal traffic in liquor.

I shall continue to regard it as my duty to use whatever means may be necessary to supplement state, local and private agencies for the relief of suffering caused by unemployment. With respect to this question, I have recognized the dangers inherent in the direct giving of relief and have sought the means to provide not mere relief, but the opportunity for useful and remunerative work. We shall, in the process of recovery, seek to move as rapidly as possible from direct relief to publicly supported work and from that to the rapid restoration of private employment.

It is to the eternal credit of the American people that this tremendous readjustment of our national life is being accomplished peacefully, without serious dislocation, with only a minimum of injustice and with a great, willing spirit of cooperation throughout the country.

Disorder is not an American habit. Self-help and self-control are the essence of the American tradition -- not of necessity the form of that tradition, but its spirit. The program itself comes from the American people.

It is an integrated program, national in scope. Viewed in the large, it is designed to save from destruction and to keep for the future the genuinely important values created by modern society. The vicious and wasteful parts of that society we could not save if we wished; they have chosen the way of self-destruction. We would save useful mechanical invention, machine production, industrial efficiency, modern means of communication, broad education. We would save and encourage the slowly growing impulse among consumers to enter the industrial market place equipped with sufficient organization to insist upon fair prices and honest sales.

But the unnecessary expansion of industrial plants, the waste of natural resources, the exploitation of the consumers of natural monopolies, the accumulation of stagnant surpluses, child labor, and the ruthless exploitation of all labor, the encouragement of speculation with other people's money, these were consumed in the fires that they themselves kindled; we must make sure that as we reconstruct our life there be no soil in which such weeds can grow again.

We have ploughed the furrow and planted the good seed; the hard beginning is over. If we would reap the full harvest we must cultivate the soil where this good seed is sprouting and the plant is reaching up to mature growth.

A final personal word. I know that each of you will appreciate that I am speaking no mere politeness when I assure you how much I value the fine relationship that we have shared during these months of hard and incessant work. Out of these friendly contacts we are, fortunately, building a strong and permanent tie between the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government. The letter of the Constitution wisely declared a separation, but the impulse of common purpose declares a union. In this spirit we join once more in serving the American people.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
on the Occasion of his 52nd Birthday Anniversary
January 30, 1934

Tonight I am very deeply moved by the choice of my birthday anniversary for the holding of Birthday Balls in so many communities, great and small, throughout the country. I send you my greetings and my heartfelt thanks; but at the same time I feel that I have the right to speak to you even more as the representative on this occasion of the hundreds of thousands of crippled children in our country.

It is only in recent years that we have come to realize the true significance of the problem of our crippled children. There are so many more of them than we had any idea of. In many sections there are thousands who are not only receiving no help but whose very existence has been unknown to the doctors and health services.

A generation ago somewhat the same situation existed in relation to tuberculosis. Today, because of constant stressing of the subject, the Nation understands the tuberculosis problem and has taken splendid steps not only to effectuate cures but also to prevent the spread of the disease.

The problem of the crippled child is very similar. Modern medical science has advanced so far that a very large proportion of children who for one reason or another have become crippled can be restored to useful citizenship. It remains, therefore, only to spread the gospel for the care and cure of crippled children in every part of this kindly land to enable us to make the same relative progress that we have already made in the field of tuberculosis.

As all of you know, the work at Warm Springs has been close to my heart, because of the many hundreds of cases of infantile paralysis which have been treated there. It is a fact that infantile paralysis results in the crippling of children and of grown-ups more than any other cause. Warm Springs is only one of the many places where kindness and patience and skill are given to handicapped people. There are hundreds of other places, hospitals and clinics, where the surgeons, doctors and nurses of the country gladly work day in and day out throughout the years, often without compensation.

Warm Springs, through the generous gifts which are being made to the Foundation tonight, will be able to increase its usefulness nationally, especially in the field of infantile paralysis. We shall be able to take more people and I

hope that these people will be able to come to us on the recommendation of doctors from every state in the Union. I want to stress, however, that the problem of the crippled child is so great that in every community and in every state the local facilities for caring for the crippled need the support and the interest of every citizen. Let us well remember that every child and indeed every person who is restored to useful citizenship is an asset to the country and is enabled "to pull his own weight in the boat". In the long run, by helping this work we are not contributing to charity but we are contributing to the building up of a sound Nation.

At Warm Springs the facilities are available, in so far as beds and funds permit, to the rich and to the poor.

The fund to which you contribute tonight will undoubtedly permit us to extend the facilities of Warm Springs in a greater degree than before. I like to think and I would like each one of you who hears me to remember that what you are doing means the enriching of the life of some crippled child. I know and you know that there could be no finer purpose than our will to aid these helpless little ones.

Today so many thousands of welcome telegrams and postcards and letters of birthday greetings have poured in

on me in the White House that I want to take this opportunity of thanking all of you who have sent them. From the bottom of my heart I am grateful to you for your thought. I wish I could divide myself by six thousand and attend in person each and every one of these birthday parties. I cannot do that, but I can be and I am with you all in spirit and in the promotion of this great cause for which we all are crusading.

No man has ever had a finer birthday remembrance from his friends and fellows than you have given me tonight. It is with an humble and thankful heart that I accept this tribute through me to the stricken ones of our great national family. I thank you but lack the words to tell you how deeply I appreciate what you have done, and I bid you good night on what is to me the happiest birthday I ever have known.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the General Conference of Code Authorities
and Trade Association Code Committees
Washington, D. C., March 5, 1934

Eight and a half months ago when I signed the Recovery Act I said, "Must we go on in many groping, disorganized, separate units to defeat, or shall we move as one great team to victory?"

That team is before me this morning -- 3500 leaders of 600 great organized industries representing, as measured by employment, more than 90% of the industrial field which is covered by the NRA. Naturally I am deeply gratified that the faith which I expressed last June is so well justified in March.

I do not undertake today to present either a broad review of all the manifold causes which led up to the distressful situation from which the Nation is emerging or a recapitulation of the events, the measures and the results of this past year. You are here as the direct representatives of only one element in our complex modern life but at the same time because of the fine spirit you have shown I can congratulate you on an approach to your own problems which shows an understanding of the many other problems which criss-cross and dovetail into each other to make up the broad objective of the American people.

It is sufficient for me to point out once more that the difficult and dangerous situation into which the United States had got itself was due to the general attitude, "Every man for himself; the devil take the hindmost." Individuals were seeking quick riches at the expense of other individuals. Geographical sections were seeking economic preference for themselves to the disadvantage of other sections. Cities were recklessly offering inducements to manufacturing plants to move away from other cities. Within given industries unfair competition went on unheeded or resulted in vast consolidations whose securities were peddled to the public at dishonest prices. There was little consideration for the social point of view and no planning whatsoever to avoid the pitfalls of overproduction or of selling methods which foisted articles on a gullible public, which the family budget could not afford.

That is a strong picture but you and I, in the bottom of our hearts, know that it is a true picture. Most of us participated in the making of that picture. We did not know as much then as we know now, and because our eyes have been opened it is possible that future history will call that crazy decade of 1919 to 1929 one of the greatest blessings that ever came to the American people.

It was because the situation in March, 1933 was so

serious all along the line that remedies had to be applied to every phase of the illness. The objective was, as you know, to apply these remedies in the American way and not to copy those which are being tried in other countries which do not live under the same form of democratic government as ours. I am always a little amused and perhaps at times a little saddened -- and I think the American people feel the same way -- by those few writers and speakers who proclaim tearfully either that we are now committed to Communism and collectivism or that we have adopted Fascism and a dictatorship. The real truth of the matter is that for a number of years in our country the machinery of democracy had failed to function. Through inertia on the part of leaders and on the part of the people themselves the operations of government had fallen into the hands of special groups, some of them vociferously led by people who undertook to obtain special advantages for special classes and others led by a handful of individuals who believed in their superhuman ability to retain in their own hands the entire business and financial control over the economic and social structure of the Nation.

The fine response given by the overwhelming majority of the component parts of industry as represented here today proves to me that you have the same understanding of

our broad purpose as is held by the average of the workers of the United States -- and that word workers means almost all of the American people. You have shown sincere desire for real cooperation; you have shown prompt response to the governmental request for national unity. For this support I give you my thanks.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was drawn with the greatest good of the greatest number in mind. Its aim was to increase the buying power of wage earners and farmers so that industry, labor and the public might benefit through building up the market for farm and factory goods. Employer, wage earner and consumer groups are all represented on its boards with the government; all three groups with the government must have the interests of all the people as their main responsibility.

What we seek is balance in our economic system -- balance between agriculture and industry and balance between the wage earner, the employer and the consumer. We seek also balance that our internal markets be kept rich and large, and that our trade with other nations be increased on both sides of the ledger.

You and I are now conducting a great test to find out how the business leaders in all groups of industry can

develop capacity to operate for the general welfare. Personally I am convinced that with your help the test is succeeding.

The very conception of NRA follows the democratic procedure of our government itself. Its theory of self-regulation follows the American method rather than any of the experiments being tried in other nations. The very fact that you have been in Washington to criticize and to discuss the way NRA is working out is sufficient proof of this point.

There are some people, of course, who do not think things through; as, for example, the man who complained in one of yesterday morning's papers that criticism was held to be unpatriotic. Let me put the case so clearly that even his type will understand. If we admit that the government has a specific problem to solve and undertakes to do it in a specific way, the critic is unpatriotic who contents himself with loudly proclaiming that that way, that method is no good; that it won't work; that it is wrong to do this. This critic contributes nothing -- he is not constructive; he is unpatriotic because he attempts to destroy without even suggesting a way to build up.

On the other hand, the critic is patriotic whether he be a business man, a worker, a farmer or a politician if

he says, I don't like the methods you are using to solve the problem; I believe it would be far better if we were to use the following alternate method, and thereupon outlines for the benefit of his neighbor and his government a helpful proposal.

In this great evolution through which we are passing, the average American is doing splendid service by coming back at the captious critic and saying to him, "Well, old man, and what do you suggest?" One thing is very certain, we are not going back either to the old conditions or to the old methods.

And now to be more specific in regard to NRA itself. You have set up representative government in industry. You are carrying it on without violation of the constitutional or the parliamentary system to which the United States has been accustomed. Your industrial groups are composed of two parts -- labor and management; and the government is a participant in this organization in order to carry out this mandate of the law, "To promote organization in industry for the purpose of cooperative action in trade groups and to induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate government sanction and supervision." Somebody, of course, must strike the equitable balance between conflicting interests

and especially must protect the third group -- the consumer -- and that word "consumer" means the whole American people.

That group has also been in Washington, invited to come here and to make known publicly any complaint as to the effects of any of the codes. I am sure it will hearten you to know that the great majority of the complaints were directed not at the codes but at errors and omissions in what has been done under codes. The great bulk of complaint or criticism of the Recovery Act does not go to the Act itself or to its basic principles, but rather to the details of mere method. In this we should feel encouraged and heartened that we are on the right track and can go forward.

In working out the balance on a national scale, of which I have spoken before, we can list certain immediate objectives. I spoke last June of the fact that wage increases will eventually raise costs but I asked that management give first consideration to increasing the purchasing power of the public. I said, "That is good economics and good business. The aim of this whole effort is to restore our rich domestic market by raising its vast consuming capacity." Complaint has been made of a few industries and of some companies that they have not followed this suggestion, and evidence brought forward shows that in some cases these complaints are justified.

What I said was true in June and it is true now. The first task of industry today, as it was then, is to create consuming power.

We must remember that the bulk of the market for American industry is among the 90% of our people who live on wages and salaries and only 10% of that market is among people who live on profits alone. No one is opposed to sensible and reasonable profits, but the morality of the case is that a great segment of our people are in actual distress and that as between profits first and humanity afterwards and humanity first and profits afterwards we have no room for hesitation. With millions still unemployed the power of our people to purchase and use the products of industry is still greatly curtailed. It can be increased and sustained only by striving for the lowest schedule of prices on which higher wages and increasing employment can be maintained.

Therefore, I give to industry today this challenge: It is the immediate task of industry to re-employ more people at purchasing wages and to do it now. Only thus can we continue recovery and restore the balance we seek. It is worth while keeping in the front of our heads the thought that the people in this country whose incomes are less than \$2,000 a

year buy more than two-thirds of all the goods sold here. It is logical that if the total amount that goes in wages to this group of human beings is steadily increased merchants, employers and investors will in the long run get more income from the increased volume of sales.

I want to speak for a moment directly to the public. In my initial statement of policy, I said:

"Finally, this law is a challenge to our whole people. There is no power in America that can force against the public will such action as we require. But there is no group in America that can withstand the force of an aroused public opinion. This great cooperation can succeed only if those who bravely go forward to restore jobs have aggressive public support and those who lag are made to feel the full weight of public disapproval."

You all know what happened. We gave you the Blue Eagle as a symbol of cooperation. Its display in a shop or factory window, or upon a garment, or product, or delivery wagon, informed you that the firm with which you were dealing was doing its part in this great National cooperation to defeat depression. For the first time -- so far as I know -- all of the people in this country were given a part in making a law effective.

This is a law for the public benefit. Obviously an employer who pays Blue Eagle or Code wages cannot compete with an employer who does not. It is, therefore, common

sense for the consuming public in their own interests, as well as for labor and for industry, to join in seeing to it that the few who think only of selfish gain be made to play the game with the overwhelming majority.

Every examination I make and all the information I receive lead me to the inescapable conclusion that we must now consider immediate cooperation to secure increase in wages and shortening of hours. I am confident that your deliberations will lead you also to this conclusion. Reduction in hours coupled with a decrease in weekly wages will do no good at all, for it amounts merely to a forced contribution to unemployment relief by the class least able to bear it. I have never believed that we should violently impose flat, arbitrary and abrupt changes on the economic structure, but we can nevertheless work together in arriving at a common objective. The Government cannot forever continue to absorb the whole burden of unemployment. The thing to do now is to get more people to work. Your self-governing groups are not here to devise ingenious plans to circumvent the purposes of the Act. You are here in a patriotic spirit to effect these purposes. With few exceptions industry will give wholehearted compliance. It is only in the case of rare exceptions where industrial self-government may fail that the

Government itself must and will under the law move firmly and promptly to prevent failure.

Under the code system you and I are aware that experience must be the guide for the working out of difficulties and the prevention of abuses. For example, you on code authorities are your industrial brother's keeper and especially are you the keeper of your small industrial brother. We must set up every safeguard against erasing the small operator from the economic scene. Many years ago anti-trust laws were passed and one of the primary reasons for their enactment was the protection of the little fellow against the big fellow. In many cases these laws failed to protect the little fellow. We do not want to maintain that condition. The essential provisions of the codes should check or reverse competitive methods by which the small business man was or is being squeezed out.

These same anti-trust laws must continue in their major purpose of retaining competition and preventing monopoly; it is only where these laws have prevented the cooperation to eliminate things like child labor and sweat shops, starvation wages and other unfair practices that there is justification in modifying them.

One more subject I call to your special attention.

The law itself has provided for free choice of their own representatives by employees. Those two words "free choice" mean just what they say. It is obvious that the Government itself not only has the right but also the duty to see, first, that employees may make a choice and, secondly, that in the making of it they shall be wholly free. I ask that the letter and the spirit of free choice be accorded to its workers by every corporation in the United States.

We have been seeking experience in our first eight months of code making; for that same reason we have been tolerant of certain misunderstandings even when they resulted in evasions of the spirit if not of the letter of the law. Now we are moving into a period of administration when that which is law must be made certain and the letter and the spirit must be fulfilled. We cannot tolerate actions which are clearly monopolistic, which wink at unfair trade practices, which fail to give to labor free choice of their representatives or which are otherwise hostile to the public interest.

In a word, we cannot tolerate abuses of economic power -- abuses against labor, abuses against employers or abuses against the consuming public, whether they persist either with the aid of codes or despite their prohibitions. This does not mean that we can at once make perfect many

hundred codes covering the major trades and industries of the Nation, nor that we can get a mark of perfection in a day or a month. It does mean that we have arrived at the time for taking stock for correcting manifest errors, for rooting out demonstrated evils.

One year ago we were suffering and shrinking under economic pressures so intolerable that collapse was at hand. We had arrived at the day to make our choice. We made that choice. The American people responded to the call for action with eager enlistment -- enlistment in the struggle against ruthless self-seeking, reckless greed and economic anarchy. We undertook by lawful, constitutional processes to reorganize a disintegrating system of production and exchange.

The methods and details of that reorganization may and will change from year to year but it is very certain that the American people understand that the purpose of the reorganization was not only to bring back prosperity. It was far deeper than that. The reorganization must be permanent for all the rest of our lives in that never again will we permit the social conditions which allowed the vast sections of our population to exist in an un-American way, which allowed a mal-distribution of wealth and of power.

The willingness of all elements to enter into the spirit of the New Deal becomes more and not less evident as it goes on. As an example, I have just received a telegram from Mr. Francis M. Law, the President of The American Bankers Association. In it he said: "On this your first anniversary please allow me in behalf of the country's banks to express our full confidence and our sincere desire to cooperate in your courageous efforts to bring about recovery.

* * * The Banking structure of the country is sound and liquid and banks have never been in stronger position to function effectively. Conditions have improved to the point where it is no longer necessary for banks to be super-liquid.

* * * There is a definite call now for banks not to extend loose credits or to make improper loans but for a most sympathetic attitude towards legitimate credit needs and for a recognition of responsibility for their proper and vital part in the program of recovery."

Think back exactly one year ago today. You know where the banks stood at that time; you know where your own business stood. That telegram is a living illustration of the progress we have made. Let us consolidate our gains and let us resolve that that consolidation shall be for the continued progress and especially for the greater happiness and well-being of the American people.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BEFORE THE AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION
CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
Wednesday, October 24, 1934

I am glad to be here tonight at your invitation to speak to you informally about some of our common problems. As many of you know by personal experience, it is not a new thing for me to talk with bankers. (Laughter) I have been seeing many of your number almost daily during the past year and a half, and let me make it quite clear that in these meetings I have not done all the talking. I have been a good listener and I have asked many questions. (Laughter) I am frank in saying to you that I have found, as in the case of almost every other business and profession, that there is the striking lack of unanimity of opinion among bankers, the same lack of unanimity that characterizes many other groups in the country. It has been my purpose to seek out underlying agreement in the opinions that bankers have expressed and to encourage agreement.

You will recognize, I think, that a true function of the head of the government of the United States is to find among many discordant elements that unity of

purpose that is best for the nation as a whole. This is necessary because government is not merely one of many co-ordinate groups in the community or the nation, but government is essentially the outward expression of the unity and the leadership of all groups. Consequently the old fallacious notion of the bankers on one side and the government on the other side as being more or less equal and independent units, has passed away. Government by the necessity of things must be the leader, must be the judge of the conflicting interests of all groups in the community, including bankers. The government is the outward expression of the common life of all citizens.

What is a bank and what are its relations with the people? Why do the people through their governments supervise banks? The people put their money into banks. They do this in order to protect it and in some cases to have it earn a small income. It costs money to provide this service and, therefore, the banks are permitted to invest these deposits in order to pay their expenses and to provide a reasonable profit to their stockholders. The public has no means of knowing whether the bank is safe, whether it is making safe investments so the public turns

to its government to supervise the bank. Government has accepted this responsibility.

In its relations with bankers, the purpose of government should be threefold. First, to promote the confidence of the people in banks and banking in view of the important service that banks and banking may perform for the people as a whole. Second, to make this confidence a real and living thing by assisting banks to render themselves useful, to render themselves worthy of this confidence through wise supervision. A third purpose now offers itself, and I wish with all earnestness to press this point tonight. Government should assert its leadership in encouraging not only the confidence of the people in banks, but the confidence of the banks in the people. (Applause) In March, 1933, I asked the people of this country to renew their confidence in the banks of the country. They took me at my word. Tonight I ask the bankers of this country to renew their confidence in the people of this country. I hope you will take me at my word. (Applause)

I need not recount the situation of the banks in the spring of 1933. I found that the restoration of

banking activity itself was my first responsibility on assuming office. It was necessary that the Government throw itself squarely into the task of bringing back to the banks the deposits of (the citizens of the country) millions of citizens. As a result of my appeal the people responded by restoring their confidence in the banks of the United States.

The primary purpose accomplished, it became necessary that the Congress and the Administration enact measures to build up the banking structure so that it could once more provide support for the economic life of the country. Moreover, it had to be built and we built it strong enough so that it could resist future stresses and strains. Government found it necessary to create and get under way new emergency credit agencies and to use to the fullest extent the already existing Reconstruction Finance Corporation. These credit agencies moved with heroic energy, and it was a source of the utmost satisfaction to find that when the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation went into operation the banking structure had regained a very considerable amount of its strength and its vitality. I think it is only fair to say that never since

the formation of our Government has such a task been achieved in so short a time. Happily, the present security of our banks bears witness to the wise course that we pursued.

I find almost (general) universal agreement among bankers that these agencies must continue until such time as the banks and other private credit agencies are themselves able and ready to take over these lending functions; and when that time comes, I shall be only too glad to curtail the activities of these public agencies in proportion to the taking up of the slack by privately owned agencies. (Applause) I venture to suggest to you that when the history of these years comes to be written, while the closing and the reopening of the banks will occupy a prominent place, even greater interest will be centered in the fact that within a few months not only was the banking structure strengthened but the great governmental lending agencies went into action and also saved from disastrous deflation, liquidation and loss a vast portion of the farms, homes, railroads and the corporations of (the nation) America. (Applause) (This) That action definitely rescued the security and happiness of (all of us) millions of our people. (Applause)

Just as it is to be expected that the banks will resume their responsibility and take up the burden that the government has assumed through its credit agencies, so I assume and expect that private business generally will be financed by the great credit resources which the present liquidity of banks makes possible. Our traditional system has been built upon this principle and the recovery of our economic life should be accomplished through the assumption of this responsibility. The present steady and unmistakable revival of public demand for goods and services should provide the assurance necessary to the financing of industrial life. The Government is bending every effort through the Treasury, the Federal Reserve system, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Housing Administration to facilitate and encourage the revival of private investment. I commend the objectives of the Housing Administration to your immediate consideration, but at the same time I ask you to note that all of these new agencies are seeking consultation and cooperation with you bankers.

While there lies before us still the necessity for large expenditures for the relief of unemployment, I

think we should all proceed in the expectation that the revival of business activity will steadily reduce this burden.

I am gratified to know of the expressions of belief, public and private, the expressions of your members that the speed that we shall make toward this objective is something that no one has the wisdom or the hardihood to estimate. This recognition reflects a growing appreciation of the problems resting upon a responsible Chief Executive.

With respect to international relationships, I have been glad to note the growing appreciation in other nations of the desirability of arriving, as quickly as possible, at a point of steadiness of prices and values. This objective of a greater steadiness of prices and values we have constantly kept before us as our own national American policy.

The fact that American business men and bankers are devoting more and more individual study and attention to the wider problems of our nation, to the wider problems of international affairs, is manifesting itself today in many ways. It seems to me that this is a very important

development. Let me make it clear to you that the Government of the United States has daily and even hourly contact with sources of information which cover not only every State and section of our own country, but also every other portion of the habitable globe. This information, my friends, is more complete, more informative and, I believe, more accurate than that possessed by any private agency.

I need not tell you that true wealth is not a static thing. It is a living thing made out of the disposition of men to create and to distribute the good things of life with rising standards of living. Wealth grows when men cooperate; but it stagnates in an atmosphere of misunderstanding and misrepresentation. Here, in America, the material means are at hand for the growth of true wealth. It is in the spirit of American institutions that wealth should come as the reward of hard labor -- hard labor, I repeat -- of mind and hand. (Applause) That is a pretty good definition of what we call the profit system. Its real fulfillment comes in the general recognition of the rights of each factor of the community. It is not in the spirit of partisans, but it is in the spirit of partners, that America has progressed. The time is ripe for an

alliance of all forces intent upon the business of recovery. In such an alliance will be found business and banking, agriculture and industry, and labor and capital. What an all-America(n) team that (is) would be! (Applause) The possibilities of such a team kindle the imagination -- they encourage our determination -- they make easier the tasks of those in your Government who are leading it.

And so, my friends, the Nation does not merely trust or hope that we will always do our duty -- no, it is more than that, the Nation is justified in expecting that all of us (we) will do our duty. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the Advisory Council of the
National Conference on Economic Security
November 14, 1934

I am glad to welcome you to the White House and to tell you that I am happy that there is so much interest in the problem of economic security. Last June I said that this winter we might well make a beginning in the great task of providing social insurance for the citizen and his family. I have not changed my opinion. I shall have recommendations on this subject to present to the incoming Congress.

Many details are still to be settled. The Committee on Economic Security was created to advise me on this matter. It will bring to me, not any preconceived views, but a mature judgment after careful study of the problem and after consultation with the Advisory Conference and the co-operating committees.

On some points it is possible to be definite. Unemployment insurance will be in the program. I am still of the opinion expressed in my message of June eighth that this part of social insurance should be a cooperative Federal-State undertaking. It is important that the Federal Government encourage states which are ready to take this progressive step. It is no less important that all unemployment

insurance reserve funds be held and invested by the Federal Government, so that the use of these funds as a means of stabilization may be maintained in central management and employed on a national basis. Unemployment insurance must be set up with the purpose of decreasing rather than increasing unemployment. It is of course clear that because of their magnitude the investment and liquidation of reserve funds must be within control of the Government itself.

For the administration of insurance benefits, the states are the most logical units. At this stage, while unemployment insurance is still untried in this country and there is such a great diversity of opinion on many details, there is room for some degree of difference in methods, though not in principles. That would be impossible under an exclusively national system. And so I can say to you who have come from all parts of the country that not only will there have to be a Federal law on unemployment insurance, but state laws will also be needed. In January the great majority of the state legislatures will convene, as well as Congress. You who are interested in seeing that unemployment insurance is established on a nation-wide basis should make your plans accordingly.

We must not allow this type of insurance to become

a dole through the mingling of insurance and relief. It is not charity. It must be financed by contributions, not taxes.

What I have said must not be understood as implying that we should do nothing further for the people now on relief. On the contrary, they must be our first concern. We must get them back into productive employment and as we do so we can bring them under the protection of the insurance system. Let us profit by the mistakes of foreign countries and keep out of unemployment insurance every element which is actuarially unsound.

There are other matters with which we must deal before we shall give adequate protection to the individual against the many economic hazards. Old age is at once the most certain, and for many people the most tragic of all hazards. There is no tragedy in growing old, but there is tragedy in growing old without means of support.

As Governor of New York, it was my pleasure to recommend passage of the old age pension act which, I am told, is still generally regarded as the most liberal in the country. In approving the bill, I expressed my opinion that full solution of this problem is possible only on insurance principles. It takes so very much money to provide even a moderate pension for everybody, that when the funds are raised

from taxation only a "means test" must necessarily be made a condition of the grant of pensions.

I do not know whether this is the time for any Federal legislation on old age security. Organizations promoting fantastic schemes have aroused hopes which cannot possibly be fulfilled. Through their activities they have increased the difficulties of getting sound legislation; but I hope that in time we may be able to provide security for the aged -- a sound and a uniform system which will provide true security.

There is also the problem of economic loss due to sickness -- a very serious matter for many families with and without incomes, and therefore, an unfair burden upon the medical profession. Whether we come to this form of insurance soon or later on I am confident that we can devise a system which will enhance and not hinder the remarkable progress which has been made and is being made in the practice of the professions of medicine and surgery in the United States.

In developing each component part of the broad program for economic security, we must not lose sight of the fact that there can be no security for the individual in the midst of general insecurity. Our first task is to get the economic system to function so that there will be a greater general security. Everything that we do with intent to increase the

security of the individual will, I am confident, be a stimulus to recovery.

At this time, we are deciding on long-time objectives. We are developing a plan of administration into which can be fitted the various parts of the security program when it is timely to do so. We cannot work miracles or solve all our problems at once. What we can do is to lay a sound foundation on which we can build a structure to give a greater measure of safety and happiness to the individual than any we have ever known. In this task you can greatly help.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
January 4, 1935

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate and
of the House of Representatives:

The Constitution wisely provides that the Chief Executive shall report to the Congress on the state of the Union, for through you, the chosen legislative representatives, our citizens everywhere may fairly judge the progress of our governing. I am confident that today, in the light of the events of the past two years, you do not consider it merely a trite phrase when I tell you that I am truly glad to greet you and that I look forward to common counsel, to useful cooperation, and to genuine friendships between us.

We have undertaken a new order of things: yet we progress to it under the framework and in the spirit and intent of the American Constitution. We have proceeded throughout the nation a measurable distance on the road towards this new order. Materially, I can report to you substantial benefits to our agricultural population, increased industrial activity, and profits to our merchants. Of equal moment, there is evident a restoration of that spirit of confidence and faith which marks the American character. Let him who, for speculative profit or partisan

purpose, without just warrant would seek to disturb or dispel this assurance, take heed before he assumes responsibility for any act which slows our onward steps.

Throughout the world change is the order of the day. In every nation economic problems, long in the making, have brought crises of many kinds for which the masters of old practice and theory were unprepared. In most nations social justice, no longer a distant ideal, has become a definite goal, and ancient governments are beginning to heed the call.

Thus, the American people do not stand alone in the world in their desire for change. We seek it through tested liberal traditions, through processes which retain all of the deep essentials of that republican form of representative government first given to a troubled world by the United States.

As the various parts in the program begun in the Extraordinary Session of the 73rd Congress shape themselves in practical administration, the unity of our program reveals itself to the nation. The outlines of the new economic order, rising from the disintegration of the old, are apparent. We test what we have done as our measures take root in the living texture of life. We see where we have built wisely and where we can do still better.

The attempt to make a distinction between recovery and reform is a narrowly conceived effort to substitute the

appearance of reality for reality itself. When a man is convalescing from illness wisdom dictates not only cure of the symptoms but also removal of their cause.

It is important to recognize that while we seek to outlaw specific abuses, the American objective of today has an infinitely deeper, finer and more lasting purpose than mere repression. Thinking people in almost every country of the world have come to realize certain fundamental difficulties with which civilization must reckon. Rapid changes -- the machine age, the advent of universal and rapid communication and many other new factors have brought new problems. Succeeding generations have attempted to keep pace by reforming in piece-meal fashion this or that attendant abuse. As a result, evils overlap and reform becomes confused and frustrated. We lose sight, from time to time, of our ultimate human objectives.

Let us, for a moment, strip from our simple purpose the confusion that results from a multiplicity of detail and from millions of written and spoken words.

We find our population suffering from old inequalities, little changed by past sporadic remedies. In spite of our efforts and in spite of our talk, we have not weeded out the over-privileged and we have not effectively lifted up the under-privileged. Both of these manifestations of injustice have retarded happiness. No wise man

has any intention of destroying what is known as the profit motive: because by the profit motive we mean the right by work to earn a decent livelihood for ourselves and for our families.

We have, however, a clear mandate from the people, that Americans must foreswear that conception of the acquisition of wealth which, through excessive profits, creates undue private power over private affairs and, to our misfortune, over public affairs as well. In building toward this end we do not destroy ambition nor do we seek to divide our wealth into equal shares on stated occasions. We continue to recognize the greater ability of some to earn more than others. But we do assert that the ambition of the individual to obtain for him and his a proper security, a reasonable leisure, and a decent living throughout life, is an ambition to be preferred to the appetite for great wealth and great power.

I recall to your attention my Message to the Congress last June in which I said - "among our objectives I place the security of the men, women and children of the nation first." That remains our first and continuing task; and in a very real sense every major legislative enactment of this Congress should be a component part of it.

In defining immediate factors which enter into our quest, I have spoken to the Congress and the people of three great divisions:

1. The security of a livelihood through the better use of the national resources of the land in which we live.
2. The security against the major hazards and vicissitudes of life.
3. The security of decent homes.

I am now ready to submit to the Congress a broad program designed ultimately to establish all three of these factors of security -- a program which because of many lost years will take many future years to fulfill.

A study of our national resources, more comprehensive than any previously made, shows the vast amount of necessary and practicable work which needs to be done for the development and preservation of our natural wealth for the enjoyment and advantage of our people in generations to come. The sound use of land and water is far more comprehensive than the mere planting of trees, building of dams, distributing of electricity or retirement of sub-marginal land. It recognizes that stranded populations, either in the country or the city, cannot have security under the conditions that now surround them.

To this end we are ready to begin to meet this problem -- the intelligent care of population throughout our nation, in accordance with an intelligent distribution of the means of livelihood for that population. A definite

program for putting people to work, of which I shall speak in a moment, is a component part of this greater program of security of livelihood through the better use of our national resources.

Closely related to the broad problem of livelihood is that of security against the major hazards of life. Here also a comprehensive survey of what has been attempted or accomplished in many nations and in many States proves to me that the time has come for action by the National Government. I shall send to you, in a few days, definite recommendations based on these studies. These recommendations will cover the broad subjects of unemployment insurance and old age insurance, of benefits for children, for mothers, for the handicapped, for maternity care and for other aspects of dependency and illness where a beginning can now be made.

The third factor -- better homes for our people -- has also been the subject of experimentation and study. Here, too, the first practical steps can be made through the proposals which I shall suggest in relation to giving work to the unemployed.

Whatever we plan and whatever we do should be in the light of these three clear objectives of security. We cannot afford to lose valuable time in haphazard public policies which cannot find a place in the broad outlines

of these major purposes. In that spirit I come to an immediate issue made for us by hard and inescapable circumstance -- the task of putting people to work. In the spring of 1933 the issue of destitution seemed to stand apart; today, in the light of our experience and our new national policy, we find we can put people to work in ways which conform to, initiate and carry forward the broad principles of that policy.

The first objectives of emergency legislation of 1933 were, to relieve destitution, to make it possible for industry to operate in a more rational and orderly fashion, and to put behind industrial recovery the impulse of large expenditures in government undertakings. The purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act to provide work for more people succeeded in a substantial manner within the first few months of its life, and the Act has continued to maintain employment gains and greatly improved working conditions in industry.

The program of public works provided for in the Recovery Act launched the Federal government into a task for which there was little time to make preparation and little American experience to follow. Great employment has been given and is being given by these works.

More than two billions of dollars have also been expended in direct relief to the destitute. Local agencies of necessity determined the recipients of this form of

relief. With inevitable exceptions the funds were spent by them with reasonable efficiency and as a result actual want of food and clothing in the great majority of cases has been overcome.

But the stark fact before us is that great numbers still remain unemployed.

A large proportion of these unemployed and their dependents have been forced on the relief rolls. The burden on the Federal Government has grown with great rapidity. We have here a human as well as an economic problem. When humane considerations are concerned, Americans give them precedence. The lessons of history, confirmed by the evidence immediately before me show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is inimical to the dictates of sound policy, it is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for able bodied but destitute workers.

The Federal government must and shall quit this business of relief.

I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of cash, of market baskets, of a few hours of weekly work cutting grass, raking leaves or picking up papers in the public parks. We must preserve

not only the bodies of the unemployed from destitution but also their self-respect, their self-reliance and courage and determination. This decision brings me to the problem of what the government should do with approximately five million unemployed now on the relief rolls.

About one million and a half of these belong to the group which in the past was dependent upon local welfare efforts. Most of them are unable for one reason or another to maintain themselves independently -- for the most part, through no fault of their own. Such people, in the days before the great depression, were cared for by local efforts -- by states, by counties, by towns, by cities, by churches and by private welfare agencies. It is my thought that in the future they must be cared for as they were before. I stand ready through my own personal efforts, and through the public influence of the office that I hold, to help these local agencies to get the means necessary to assume this burden.

The security legislation which I shall propose to the Congress will, I am confident, be of assistance to local effort in the care of this type of cases. Local responsibility can and will be resumed, for, after all, common sense tells us that the wealth necessary for this task existed and still exists in the local community, and the dictates of sound administration require that this

responsibility be in the first instance a local one.

There are however an additional three and one half million employable people who are on relief. With them the problem is different and the responsibility is different. This group was the victim of a nationwide depression caused by conditions which were not local but national. The Federal government is the only governmental agency with sufficient power and credit to meet this situation. We have assumed this task and we shall not shrink from it in the future. It is a duty dictated by every intelligent consideration of national policy to ask you to make it possible for the United States to give employment to all of these three and one half million employable people now on relief, pending their absorption in a rising tide of private employment.

It is my thought that with the exception of certain of the normal public building operations of the government, all emergency public works shall be united in a single new and greatly enlarged plan.

With the establishment of this new system we can supersede the Federal Emergency Relief Administration with a coordinated authority which will be charged with the orderly liquidation of our present relief activities and the substitution of a national chart for the giving of work.

This new program of emergency public employment should be governed by a number of practical principles.

(1) All work undertaken should be useful -- not just for a day, or a year, but useful in the sense that it affords permanent improvement in living conditions or that it creates future new wealth for the Nation.

(2) Compensation on emergency public projects should be in the form of security payments which should be larger than the amount now received as a relief dole, but at the same time not so large as to encourage the rejection of opportunities for private employment or the leaving of private employment to engage in government work.

(3) Projects should be undertaken on which a large percentage of direct labor can be used.

(4) Preference should be given to those projects which will be self-liquidating in the sense that there is a reasonable expectation that the government will get its money back at some future time.

(5) The projects undertaken should be selected and planned so as to compete as little as possible with private enterprises. This suggests

that if it were not for the necessity of giving useful work to the unemployed now on relief, these projects in most instances would not now be undertaken.

(6) The planning of projects would seek to assure work during the coming fiscal year to the individuals now on relief, or until such time as private employment is available. In order to make adjustment to increasing private employment, work should be planned with a view to tapering it off in proportion to the speed with which the emergency workers are offered positions with private employers.

(7) Effort should be made to locate projects where they will serve the greatest unemployment needs as shown by present relief rolls, and the broad program of the National Resources Board should be freely used for guidance in selection. Our ultimate objective being the enrichment of human lives, the government has the primary duty to use its emergency expenditures as much as possible to serve those who cannot secure the advantages of private capital.

Ever since the adjournment of the 73rd Congress, the Administration has been studying from every angle the

possibility and the practicability of new forms of employment. As a result of these studies I have arrived at certain very definite convictions as to the amount of money that will be necessary for the sort of public projects that I have described. I shall submit these figures in my budget message. I assure you now they will be within the sound credit of the government.

The work itself will cover a wide field including clearance of slums, which for adequate reasons cannot be undertaken by private capital; in rural housing of several kinds, where, again, private capital is unable to function; in rural electrification; in the reforestation of the great watersheds of the nation; in an intensified program to prevent soil erosion and to reclaim blighted areas; in improving existing road systems and in constructing national highways designed to handle modern traffic; in the elimination of grade crossings; in the extension and enlargement of the successful work of the Civilian Conservation Corps; in non-Federal work, mostly self-liquidating and highly useful to local divisions of Government; and on many other projects which the nation needs and cannot afford to neglect.

This is the method which I propose to you in order that we may better meet this present-day problem of unemployment. Its greatest advantage is that it fits logically and usefully into the long-range permanent policy of

providing the three types of security which constitute as a whole an American plan for the betterment of the future of the American people.

I shall consult with you from time to time concerning other measures of national importance. Among the subjects that lie immediately before us are the consolidation of federal regulatory administration over all forms of transportation, the renewal and clarification of the general purposes of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the strengthening of our facilities for the prevention, detection and treatment of crime and criminals, the restoration of sound conditions in the public utilities field through abolition of the evil features of holding companies, the gradual tapering off of the emergency credit activities of government, and improvement in our taxation forms and methods.

We have already begun to feel the bracing effect upon our economic system of a restored agriculture. The hundreds of millions of additional income that farmers are receiving is finding its way into the channels of trade. The farmers' share of the national income is slowly rising. The economic facts justify the widespread opinion of those engaged in agriculture that our provision for maintaining a balanced production give at this time the most adequate remedy for an old and vexing problem. For the present and especially in view of abnormal world conditions, agricul-

tural adjustment with certain necessary improvements in methods should continue.

It seems appropriate to call attention at this time to the fine spirit shown during the past year by our public servants. I cannot praise too highly the cheerful work of the Civil Service employees, and of those temporarily working for the government. As for those thousands in our various public agencies spread throughout the country who, without compensation, agreed to take over heavy responsibilities in connection with our various loan agencies and particularly in direct relief work, I cannot say too much. I do not think any country could show a higher average of cheerful and even enthusiastic team-work than has been shown by these men and women.

I cannot with candor tell you that general international relationships outside the borders of the United States are improved. On the surface of things many old jealousies are resurrected, old passions aroused; new strivings for armament and power, in more than one land, rear their ugly heads. I hope that calm counsel and constructive leadership will provide the steadying influence and the time necessary for the coming of new and more practical forms of representative government throughout the world wherein privilege and power will occupy a lesser place and world welfare a greater.

I believe, however, that our own peaceful and neighborly attitude towards other nations is coming to be understood and appreciated. The maintenance of international peace is a matter in which we are deeply and unselfishly concerned. Evidence of our persistent and undeniable desire to prevent armed conflict has recently been more than once afforded.

There is no ground for apprehension that our relations with any nation will be otherwise than peaceful. Nor is there ground for doubt that the people of most nations seek relief from the threat and burden attaching to the false theory that extravagant armament cannot be reduced and limited by international accord.

The ledger of the past year shows many more gains than losses. Let us not forget that, in addition to saving millions from utter destitution, child labor has been for the moment outlawed, thousands of homes saved to their owners and most important of all, the morale of the nation has been restored. Viewing the year 1934 as a whole, you and I can agree that we have a generous measure of reasons for giving thanks.

It is not empty optimism that moves me to a strong hope in the coming year. We can, if we will, make 1935 a genuine period of good feeling, sustained by a sense of purposeful progress. Beyond the material recovery, I

sense a spiritual recovery as well. The people of America are turning as never before to those permanent values that are not limited to the physical objectives of life. There are growing signs of this on every hand. In the face of these spiritual impulses we are sensible of the Divine Providence to which Nations turn now, as always, for guidance and fostering care.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
on his 53rd Birthday Anniversary
January 30, 1935, 11.35 P.M.

Most of you who hear my voice tonight know in general terms of the story of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation -- of how, from very small beginnings ten years ago, there have been built up two useful, practical factors in the fight against one of the most insidious and baffling of American health problems.

The first has been the work at Warm Springs itself -- the joyous task of taking care of scores of children and of trying to bring them back to useful, active participation in life, and the also interesting task of trying new methods which suggest themselves from time to time through the many and constant advances of medical and surgical science.

The other objective, long dreamed of, receives tonight its greatest incentive. In every part of the Nation funds are being raised to give better care to crippled children within or near to their own community. Seventy per cent of your generous contributions go to these local needs. The other thirty per cent go, not to the Warm Springs Foundation, but to a distinguished Committee to be allocated by this Committee for the furtherance of research into the cause, the prevention and the treatment of infantile paralysis.

I need not tell you of my own deep personal happiness that my birthday is being made the occasion for aiding this splendid work. I wish that I might be with each and every one of you at each and every one of these parties and entertainments in every state in the country.

Today I have also been made happy by thousands of telegrams and letters -- so many of them, indeed, that even an enlarged White House Staff could not begin to thank for them. To all of you who sent them I therefore take this opportunity of extending my gratitude.

To all of you who are so generously helping the cause of crippled children everywhere, I also send my thanks and my best wishes. I like this kind of a birthday.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED FROM THE SOUTH
PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE, TO FARMERS WHO HAVE CON-
VENED IN WASHINGTON FOR THE PURPOSE OF SUPPORTING
THE ADMINISTRATION'S AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM.

May 14, 1935, 5 o'clock P.M.

I am glad to welcome you to (the Nation's Capital) Washington. We can think of this occasion as a kind of surprise birthday party (for) because it was exactly (just) two years and two days ago that the Agricultural Adjustment Act became a law. (Applause) I pretty well remember the occasion over there (indicating) in the Executive Offices and the fine group of representatives of farmers from every part of the (Union) country who stood around me on that occasion when I signed the Act.

After that took place and in record time you and thousands of other farmers took hold. You set up the machinery to control your affairs and you put the new law to work.

I remember, too, the many -- what shall I call them -- the high and mighty people (applause) the high and mighty people who said you could not do it -- who said it was no use for you to try -- intimating clearly that their only remedy to improve your situation was to let the sheriffs' sales go on. (Applause) That was the old (and very) familiar way -- the high and mighty (balanced) way of balancing farm production

with demand. Those people, my friends, did not understand and many of them do not understand today that, if the farm population of the United States suffers and loses its purchasing power, the people in the cities, in every part of the country suffer of necessity with them. One of the greatest lessons that the city dwellers have come to understand in these past two years is this: Empty pocketbooks on the farm don't turn factory wheels in the city. (Applause)

Let us go back for a minute to (the) that Spring of 1933 -- when there was a huge carry-over of almost -- let us take some examples -- thirteen million bales of cotton and a price, because of that carry-over, of six cents a pound. Henry Wallace insists it was six and a-half cents a pound but I know I got four and a-half cents for my cotton. You and I know what six-cent cotton means to the purchasing power of the Cotton Belt.

And you and I remember that there was a huge carry-over of tobacco and the price of tobacco during the preceding six months was the lowest on record for a great many years. Wheat, with a carry-over of nearly four hundred million bushels, and a price of thirty-five cents on the farm or less; corn, with a price of fifteen cents a bushel on many farms -- and I knew some farmers who sold it at nine cents; hogs, selling at three cents a pound.

You and I know what (that) those figures meant in the way of purchasing power for forty million (people) Americans.

When we came down here to Washington that Spring we were faced with three possible ways of meeting the situation (programs). The first method that was suggested involved price fixing by Federal (Government) decree. We (this was) discarded that because the problem of over-production was not solved thereby.

The second (was a) plan was to let farmers grow as much as they wanted to, everything, and to have the Federal Government then step in, take from them that portion of their crop which represented what we called the exportable surplus and, in their name, on their behalf, dump this surplus on the other nations of the world. We discarded that plan (was discarded) for a good many reasons and one was because the other nations of the world had already (begun) taken steps to stop dumping. From that time on, with increasing frequency they were raising their tariffs, establishing quotas and clamping on embargoes against just that kind of proposition. And that is why we discarded that.

Therefore, we came to the third plan -- a plan for the adjustment of totals in our major crops so that from year to year production and consumption would be kept in reasonable balance with each other to the end that reasonable prices would be paid to farmers for their crops and to the end that

unwieldy surpluses would not depress our markets and upset the balance.

We are now at the beginning of the third year of carrying out this policy. You know the results thus far attained. You know the present price of cotton, of wheat, of tobacco, of corn, of hogs and of other farm products today. Further comment on the successful partial attainment of our objective up to this time is unnecessary on my part. You know. (Applause)

I want, for a moment, to emphasize that word "adjustment". It is almost a forgotten word just as some of you, once upon a time, were forgotten men. (Applause) As you know, a great many of the high and mighty -- with special axes to grind -- have been deliberately trying to mislead people who know nothing of farming by misrepresenting -- no -- why use a pussyfoot word -- by lying about the kind of a farm program under which this Nation is operating today.

A few leading citizens have gone astray from (ignorance) other causes. Well, let us take the cause of ignorance. I must admit (it) that. For example, a few years ago in the countryside where I live, I was driving with a (the) prominent city banker (who was driving through up-State New York with me four or five years ago in the late Fall). Everything was brown. The leaves were off the trees. And all of a sudden we passed a beautiful green field. He asked me what it was.

I told him it was winter wheat. He turned to me and said, "That is very interesting. I have always wondered about winter wheat. What I don't understand is how they are able to cut it when it gets all covered up with snow." (Laughter)

The other example was down in Georgia: An (the) editor of a great metropolitan paper (visited) was visiting me (down in Georgia) in the summertime when I showed him my farm with 40 or 50 acres of cotton, when the cotton was nearly grown but before the bolls had formed. Looking out over the cotton fields he said to me:

"What a (great) large number of raspberries they grow down here." (Laughter)

Well, raspberries was right. Because, at four and a-half cents a pound for cotton his mistake was, perhaps, a natural one. (Laughter)

I was speaking (of) to you about that word adjustment. I think it is your duty and mine to continue to educate the people of this country to the fact that adjustment means not only adjustment downward but adjustment upward. If you and I agree on a correct figure for a normal carry-over in a basic crop it means that if we have a bumper crop one year we will, by mutual consent, reduce the next year's crop in order to even up that carry-over. At the same time, if we get a short crop in a given year, you and I agree to increase the next year's crop to make up the shortage. (Applause)

That is exactly what we are doing (today) in the case of wheat this year.

Yes, it is high time for you and for me to carry, by education, knowledge of the fact that not a single program of the A.A.A. contemplated the destruction of an acre of food crops in the United States, in spite of what you may read or (be) what you may have been told by people who have special axes to grind. (Applause)

It is high time for you and for me to make clear that we are not plowing under cotton this year -- that we did not plow it under in 1934 and that we only plowed some of it under in 1933 because the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed by that Congress at that famous Special Session after a huge crop of cotton was already in the ground.

It is high time for us to repeat on every occasion that we have not wastefully destroyed food in any form. It is true that the Relief Administrator has purchased hundreds of thousands of tons of foodstuffs, purchased them in order to feed the needy and hungry and (are) have been on the relief rolls in every part of the United States.

The crocodile tears shed by the professional mourners of (an) the old and obsolete order over the slaughter of little pigs (laughter) and over other measures to reduce surplus agricultural inventories deceive very few thinking people in this country and least of all the farmers themselves.

in your minds to let you be led astray by the solemn admonitions and specious lies of those who in the past profited most when your distress was greatest. (Applause)

You remember and I remember that not so long ago the poor had less food to eat, and less clothes to wear, when you had to practically give away your products, and the surpluses were greater and they were poorer than they are today when you farmers are getting a reasonable although still an insufficient price. (Applause)

I have not the time to talk with you about many other policies of your Government which affect the farm population of the country. I have not the time, although I would like to do it, to go into the practical work of the Farm Credit Administration which in all of its ramifications has saved a million farms from foreclosure and has accomplished the first great reduction in exorbitant interest rates that this country has ever known. (Applause)

It is because what you stand for is so just and so wholly reasonable (your cause is so just) that no one today has had the temerity to question the motives of this grand (your) "march on Washington." It is a good omen for Government, for business, for bankers and for the city dwellers that the nation's farmers are becoming articulate and that they know whereof they speak. (Applause)

I hope you have enjoyed your stay in Washington.

Seeing your Government at first hand, seeing the immensity of government which, after all, is not surprising when you think of the immensity of the country, seeing all that at first hand, you may have a better idea why (its efforts at times) sometimes our efforts in the National Capital seem lumbering and slow and complicated. We haven't quite got the engine tuned up yet but it is a mighty fine engine.

(Applause) I think after it has run a total of about a thousand miles it will be the best engine we have ever had.

On the other hand, you may have seen, in this visit of yours, that we are moving faster, that we are accomplishing more practical results than you have been led to believe by the high and mighty gentlemen (applause) I have spoken of.

I want to thank you for your patience with us, your Government.

I want to pledge to you not only our wholehearted cooperation as you go forward but to pledge to you our continued deep interest in a problem that is not just a farmer's problem because, as I have said before, your prosperity is felt in every city home, in every bank and in every industry.

(Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION
108TH INFANTRY ARMORY, SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Tuesday, September 29, 1936, 9.00 P.M.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

From force of long habit I almost said, "My fellow delegates."

Tonight you and I join forces for the 1936 campaign. (Applause) We are entering it with confidence. Never was there greater need for fidelity to the underlying conception of Americanism than there is today. And once again it is given to our Party to carry the message of that Americanism to the people.

The task on our part is twofold: First, as simple patriotism requires, to separate the false from the real issues; and, secondly, with facts and without rancor, to clarify the real problems for the American public. (Applause)

There will be -- there are -- many false issues. In that respect, this will be no different from other campaigns. Partisans, not willing to face realities, will drag out red herrings -- as they have always done -- to divert attention from the trail of their own weaknesses. (Applause)

This practice is as old as our democracy. Avoiding the facts -- fearful of the truth -- a malicious opposition charged

that George Washington planned to make himself king under a British form of government; that Thomas Jefferson planned to set up a guillotine in every section under (a) the French Revolutionary form of government; that Andrew Jackson soaked the rich of the Eastern seaboard (applause) and planned to surrender American democracy to the dictatorship of a frontier mob. They called Abraham Lincoln a Roman Emperor; Theodore Roosevelt a Destroyer; Woodrow Wilson a self-constituted Messiah.

And in this campaign another herring turns up. (Laughter, applause) In former years it has been British (and) or French -- and a variety of other things. This year it is Russian. (Laughter, applause) Desperate in mood, angry at failure, cunning in purpose, individuals and groups are seeking to make communism an issue in an election where communism is not a controversy between the two major parties. (Applause)

Here and now, once and for all, let us bury that red herring, and destroy that false issue. You are familiar with my background, you know my heritage, and you are familiar, especially in the State of New York, with my public service extending back over a quarter of a century. For nearly four years I have been President of the United States. A long record has been written. In that record, both in this State and in the National Capital, you will find a simple, clear and consistent adherence not only to the letter but to the spirit of the American form of government. (Applause)

To that record, my future and the future of my Administration will conform. I have not sought, I do not seek, I repudiate the support of any advocate of communism or of any other alien "ism" which would by fair means or foul change our American Democracy.

That is my position. It always has been my position. It always will be my position. (Applause)

There is no difference between the major parties as to what they think about communism.

But there is a very great difference between the (two) parties in what they do about communism.

I must tell you why: Communism is a manifestation of the social unrest which always comes with widespread economic maladjustment. We in the Democratic party have not been content merely to denounce this menace. We have been realistic enough to face it. We have been intelligent enough to do something about it. And the world has seen the results of what we have done. (Applause)

What happened a year and a half ago? In the Spring of 1933 we faced a crisis which was the ugly fruit of twelve years of neglect of the causes of economic and social unrest. It was a crisis made to order for all those who would overthrow our form of government. Do I need to recall to you the fears of those days -- the reports of those who piled supplies in their basements, who laid plans to get their fortunes across the border, who got themselves hideaways in the country

against the impending upheaval? Do I need to recall the law-abiding heads of peaceful families, who began to wonder, as they saw their children starve, how they would get the bread they saw in the bakery window? Do I need to recall the homeless boys who are traveling in bands through the countryside seeking work, (and) seeking food -- desperate because they could find neither? Do I need to recall the farmers who banded together with pitchforks to keep the Sheriff from selling the farm home under foreclosure? Do I need to recall the powerful leaders of industry and banking who came to me in Washington in those early days of 1933 pleading to be saved? (Applause)

Most people in the United States remember today the fact that starvation was averted, that homes and farms were saved, that banks were reopened, that crop prices rose, that industry revived, and that the dangerous forces (subversive) of subversion of our form of government were turned aside.

A few (people) -- a few only -- unwilling to remember, seem to have forgotten those days. (Applause)

In the Summer of 1933, a nice old gentleman wearing a silk hat, fell off the end of a pier. He was unable to swim. A friend ran down the pier, dived overboard and pulled him out, but the silk hat floated off with the tide. After the old gentleman had been (resuscitated) revived he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for saving his life. Today, three years later, the old gentleman is berating his

friend because (the) his silk hat was lost. (Prolonged applause)

Why did (the) that crisis of 1929 to 1933 (1932) pass without disaster?

The answer is found in the record of what we did. Early in the campaign of 1932 I said: "To meet by reaction that danger of radicalism is to invite disaster. (Reaction is no barrier to the radical -- it is a challenge, a provocation.) The way to meet that danger is to offer a workable program of reconstruction, and the party to offer it is the party with clean hands." We met the emergency with emergency action. But far more important than that, we went to the roots of the problem, and attacked the cause of the crisis. We were against revolution. Therefore, we waged war against those conditions which make revolutions -- against the inequalities and resentments which breed them. In America in 1933 the people did not attempt to remedy wrongs by overthrowing (their) institutions. Americans were made to realize that wrongs could and would be set right within their institutions. We proved that Democracy CAN work. (Applause)

I have said to you that there is a very great difference between the two parties in what they do about communism. Conditions congenial to communism were being bred and fostered throughout this Nation up to the very day of March 4, 1933. Hunger was breeding it, loss of homes and farms was breeding it, closing banks were breeding it, a ruinous price level was

It is for that reason that our American form of government will continue to be safest in Democratic hands. The real, actual, undercover Republican leadership is the same as it was four years ago. That leadership will never comprehend the need for a program of social justice and of regard for the well-being of the masses of our people. (Applause)

I have been comparing leadership in Washington. This contrast between Democratic and Republican leadership holds true throughout the length and breadth of the State of New York. As far back as the year 1910, the old Black Horse Cavalry, which we old people will remember, in Albany was failing to meet changing social conditions by appropriate social legislation. Here was a State noted for its industry and noted for its agriculture -- a State with the greatest mixture of population -- where the poorest and the richest lived, literally, within a stone's throw of each other -- in short a situation made to order for potential unrest. And yet in this situation the best that the Republican leaders of those days could say was: "Let them eat cake." (Applause) What would have happened if that reactionary domination had continued through all these hard years?

Starting in 1911, a Democratic leadership came into power, and with it a new philosophy of government. I had the good fortune to come into public office at that time. I found other young men in the Legislature -- men who held the same

philosophy -- and one of them was Bob Wagner; (applause) another was Al Smith. (Applause, boos) We were all joined in a common cause. We did not look on government as something apart from the people. We thought of it as something to be used by the people for their own good.

New factory legislation setting up decent standards of safety and sanitation; limitation of the (working) hours of women in industry, mind you to 54 hours a week; a workmen's compensation law; a one-day rest in seven law; a full train crew law; a direct primary law -- these laws and many more that were passed, (which) they were then called radical and alien to our form of government. Would you or any other Americans call them radical (and) or alien today? ("No", applause)

In later years, first under Governor Smith, then during my Governorship, this program of practical intelligence was carried forward over the typical and unswerving opposition of Republican leaders throughout (the) our State.

And today the great tradition of a liberal, progressive Democratic Party has been carried still further by (your) our present great Governor, Herbert H. Lehman. (Applause) He has begun a program of social insurance to remove the spectre of unemployment from the working people of the State. He has broadened our labor legislation. He has extended the supervision of public utility companies. He has proved himself an untiring seeker for the public good; a doer of

social justice, a wise, conscientious, clear-headed and businesslike administrator of the executive branch of our government. And be it noted that his opponents are led and backed by the same forces and, in many cases, by the same individuals who, for a quarter of a century, have tried to hamstring progress (within our) in this State. The overwhelming majority of our citizens, up-State and down-State, regardless of party, propose to return him and his administration to Albany for another two years. (Applause)

His task in Albany, like my task in Washington, has been to maintain contact between statecraft and reality. In New York and in Washington, government which has rendered more than lip service to our constitutional democracy has done a work for the protection and preservation of our institutions that could not have been accomplished by repression and force.

Let me warn you and let me warn the Nation against the smooth evasion which says, "Of course we believe (all) these things we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything." (Laughter, prolonged applause)

But, my friends, these evaders are banking too heavily on the shortness of our memories. No one will forget that they had their golden opportunity -- twelve long years of it.

And remember too, that the first essential of doing a job well is to want to see the job done. (But) Make no mistake though about this: The Republican leadership today is not against the way we have done the job. The Republican leadership is against the job being done. (Applause)

Look to the source of the promises of the past. Governor Lehman knows and I know how little legislation in the interests of the average citizen would be on the statute books of the State of New York, and of the Federal Government, if we had waited for Republican leaders to pass it.

The same lack of purpose of fulfillment lies behind the promises of today. You cannot be an Old Guard Republican in the East, and a New Deal Republican in the West. You cannot promise to repeal taxes before one audience and promise to spend more of the taxpayers' money before another audience. You cannot promise tax relief for those who can afford to pay, and, at the same time, promise more of the taxpayers' money for those who are in need. You simply cannot make good on both promises at the same time. (Applause)

Who is there in America who believes that we can run the risk of turning back our Government to the old leadership which brought it to the brink of 1933? Out of the strains

and stresses of these years we now come to see that the true conservative is the man who has a real concern for injustices and takes thought against the day of reckoning. The true conservative seeks to protect the system of private property and free enterprise by correcting such injustices and inequalities as arise from it. The most serious threat to our institutions comes from those who refuse to face the need for change. Liberalism becomes the protection for the far-sighted conservative.

Never has a Nation made greater strides in the safeguarding of Democracy than we have made during the past three years. Wise and prudent men -- intelligent conservatives -- have long known that in a changing world worthy institutions can only be conserved (only) by adjusting them to the changing time. In the words of the great essayist -- "The voice of great events is proclaiming to us -- Reform if you would (preserve) conserve."

I am that kind of a conservative because I am that kind of a liberal. (Prolonged applause)

THE PRESIDENT'S VETO MESSAGE TO CONGRESS
WITH RESPECT TO THE BILL PROVIDING FOR THE
PAYMENT OF ADJUSTED SERVICE CERTIFICATES
READ BY THE PRESIDENT
May 22, 1935

Mr. Speaker, Members of the House of Representatives:

Two days ago a number of gentlemen from the House of Representatives called upon me and with complete propriety presented their reasons for asking me to approve the House of Representatives Bill providing for the immediate payment of adjusted service certificates. In the same spirit of courtesy I am returning this bill today to the House of Representatives. As I told the gentlemen who waited upon me, I have never doubted the good faith lying behind the reasons which have caused them and the majority of the Congress to advocate this bill. In the same spirit I come before you dispassionately and in good faith to give you, as simply as I can, the reasons which compel me to give it my disapproval.

Under the Constitution, I address this message to the House of Representatives but, at the same time, I am glad that the Senate by coming here in joint session

gives me opportunity to give my reasons in person to the other House of the Congress.

As to the right and the propriety of the President in addressing the Congress in person, I am very certain that I have never in the past disagreed, and will never in the future disagree, with the Senate or the House of Representatives as to the constitutionality of the procedure. With your permission, I should like to continue from time to time to act as my own messenger. (Applause)

Eighteen years ago the United States engaged in the World War. A Nation of one hundred and twenty million people was united in the purpose of victory. The millions engaged in agriculture toiled to provide the raw materials and foodstuffs for our armies and for the nations with whom we were associated. Many other millions employed in industry labored to create the materials for the active conduct of the War on land and sea.

Out of this vast army consisting of the whole working population of the Nation, four and three-quarter million men volunteered or were drafted into the armed forces of the United States. One-half of them remained within our American continental limits. The other half

served over-seas; and of these, one million four hundred thousand saw service in actual combat.

The people and the Government of the United States have shown a proper and generous regard for the sacrifices and patriotism of all of the four and three-quarter million men who were in uniform, no matter where they served.

At the outbreak of the War, the President and the Congress sought and established an entirely new policy (however) in order to guide the granting of financial aid to soldiers and sailors. Remembering the unfortunate results that came from the lack of a veterans' policy after the Civil War, they determined that a prudent and sound principle of insurance should supplant the uncertainties and the unfairness of direct bounties. At the same time, their policy encompassed the most complete care for those who had suffered disabilities in service. With respect to the grants made within the lines of this general policy, the President and the Congress have fully recognized that those who served in uniform deserved certain benefits to which other citizens of the Republic were not entitled, and in which they could not participate.

In line with these sound and fair principles, as we know, many benefits have been provided for veterans.

During the War itself provision was made for government allowances for the families and other dependents of enlisted men in service. Death and disability compensation was provided for casualties in line of duty.

The original provisions for these benefits have been subsequently changed and liberalized many times by the Congress. Later generous presumptions for veterans who became ill after the termination of the War were written into the statute to help veterans in their claims for disability. As a result of this liberal legislation for disability and for death compensation, one million one hundred and forty thousand men and women have been benefited.

During the War the Government started a system of voluntary insurance at peace-time rates for men and women in the service.

Generous provision (has been) was made for hospitalization, for vocational training (and), for rehabilitation of veterans. You are familiar with this excellent care given to the sick and disabled.

In addition to these direct benefits, Congress has given recognition to the interest and welfare of veterans in employment matters, through veteran preference in the United States Civil Service, in the selection of employees under the Public Works Administration, through the establishment of a veterans' employment unit in the Department of Labor, and through provisions favoring veterans in the selection of those employed in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Many States have likewise given special bonuses in cash and veterans' preferences in state and local public employment.

Furthermore, unemployed veterans as a group have benefited more largely than any other group from the expenditure of the great public works appropriation of three billion three hundred million dollars made by the Congress in 1933, and under which we are still operating. In like manner the new four billion dollar Work Relief Act seeks to give employment to practically every veteran who is receiving relief.

We may measure the benefits extended from the fact that there has been expended up the end of the last fiscal year more than \$7,800,000,000 for these items in

behalf of the veterans of the World War, not including sums spent for home or work relief. With our current annual expenditures of some \$450,000,000 and the liquidation of outstanding obligations under Term Insurance and the payment of service certificates, it seems safe to predict that by the year 1945 we will have expended \$13,500,000,000. This is a sum equal to more than three-fourths of the entire cost of our participation in the World War, and ten years from now most of the veterans of that war will be barely past the half century mark.

Payments have been and are being made only to veterans of the World War and their dependents, and not to civilian workers who helped to win that War.

In the light of our established principles and policies let us consider the case of adjusted compensation. Soon after the close of the War a claim was made by several veterans' organizations that they should be paid some adjusted compensation for (their time) the time they had spent in uniform. After a complete and fair presentation of the whole subject, followed by full debate in the Congress of the United States, a settlement was reached in 1924.

This settlement provided for adjustment in compensation during service by an additional allowance per day for actual service rendered. Because cash payment was not (to be) made immediately, this basic allowance was increased by 25% and to this was added (at) compound interest for twenty years, the whole to be paid in 1945. The result of this computation was that an amount two and one-half times the original grant would be paid at maturity.

Taking the average case as an example, the Government acknowledged a claim of \$400 to be due. This \$400, under the provisions of the settlement, with the addition of the 25% for deferred payment and the compound interest from that time until 1945, would amount to the sum of \$1,000 in 1945. The veteran was thereupon given a Certificate containing an agreement (by) with the Government to pay him this \$1,000 in 1945 or to pay it to his family if he died at any time before (1945) that date. In effect, it was a paid-up endowment policy in the average case for \$1,000 payable in 1945, or sooner in the event of death. Under the provisions of this settlement, the total obligation of \$1,400,000,000 in 1924

produced a maturity or face value of \$3,500,000,000 in 1945.

Since 1924, the only major change in the original settlement was the Act of 1931 under which veterans were authorized to borrow up to fifty per cent of the face value of their certificates, the face value as of 1945. Three million veterans have already borrowed under this provision an amount which, with interest charges, totals \$1,700,000,000.

(The) This bill before me provides for the immediate payment of the 1945 value of the certificates. It means paying \$1,600,000,000 more than the present value of the certificates. It requires an expenditure of more than \$2,200,000,000 in cash at once for this purpose. It directs payment to the veterans of a much larger sum than was contemplated in the 1924 settlement. It is nothing less than a complete abandonment of that settlement. It is a new straight gratuity or bounty to the amount of \$1,600,000,000. It destroys the insurance protection for the dependents of the veterans as was provided in the original plan. For the remaining period of ten years they will have lost this insurance.

This proposal, I submit, violates the entire principle of veterans' benefits so carefully formulated at the time of the War and also the entire principle of the adjusted (certificate) service settlement of 1924.

What are the reasons presented in this bill for cash payment, for this fundamental change in policy? They are set forth with care in a number of "whereas" clauses at the beginning of the bill.

The first of these "whereas" clauses states as reasons for the cash payment of these certificates at this time: that it will increase the purchasing power of millions of the consuming public; that it will provide relief for many who are in need because of economic conditions; and that it will lighten the relief burden of cities, counties and states. The second "whereas" clause states that payment will not create any additional debt. The third "whereas" clause states that payment now will be an effective method of spending money to hasten recovery.

These are the enacted reasons for the passage of this bill. Let me briefly analyze them.

First, the spending of this sum, it cannot be denied, would result in some expansion, especially, of

retail trade. But it must be noted that retail trade has already expanded to a condition that compares favorably with conditions before the depression. However, to resort to the kind of financial practice provided in this bill would not improve the conditions necessary to expand those industries in which we have the greatest unemployment. The Treasury notes issued under the terms of this bill we know from past experience would return quickly to the banks. We know, too, that the banks have at this moment more than ample credit with which to expand the activities of business and industry generally. The ultimate effect of this bill will not in the long run justify the expectations that have been raised by those who argue for it.

The next reason in the first "whereas" clause is that present payment will provide relief for many who are in dire need because of economic conditions. The Congress at this session has just passed an Act to provide work relief for such citizens. Some veterans are on the relief rolls, though relatively not nearly as many as in the case (with) of non-veterans. Assume, however, that such a veteran on the relief rolls served in

the United States or overseas during the War; that he came through in fine physical shape as most of them did; that he received an honorable discharge; that he is to-day thirty-eight years old and in full possession of his faculties and health; and that like several million other Americans he is receiving from his Government relief and assistance in one of many forms -- I hold that that able-bodied citizen (, because he wore a uniform and for no other reason,) should be accorded no treatment different from that accorded to other citizens who did not wear a uniform during the World War.

The third reason given in the first "whereas" clause is that payment today would lighten the relief burden of municipalities. Why, I ask, should the Congress lift that burden in respect only to those who wore the uniform? Is it not better to treat every able-bodied American alike and to carry out the great relief program adopted by this Congress in a spirit of equality to all? This applies to every other unit of government throughout the Nation.

The second "whereas" clause, which states that the payment of certificates will not create an additional

debt, raises a fundamental question of sound finance. To meet a claim of one group by this deceptively easy method of payment will raise similar demands for the payment of claims of other groups. It is easy to see the ultimate result of meeting recurring demands by the issuance of Treasury notes. It invites an ultimate reckoning in uncontrollable prices and in the destruction of the value of savings, that will strike most cruelly those like the veterans who seem to be temporarily benefited. The first person injured by sky-rocketing prices is the man on a fixed income. Every disabled veteran on pension or allowance is on fixed income. This bill favors the able-bodied veteran at the expense of the disabled veteran.

Wealth is not created, nor is it more equitably distributed by this method. A Government, like an individual, must ultimately meet legitimate obligations out of the production of wealth by the labor of human beings applied to the resources of nature. Every country, every nation throughout history, that has attempted the form of meeting its obligations which is here provided has suffered disastrous consequences.

In the majority of cases printing press money has not been retired through taxation. Because of increased

costs, caused by inflated prices, new issue has followed upon new issue, ending in the ultimate wiping out of the currency of the afflicted country. In a few cases, like our own in the period of the Civil War, the printing of Treasury notes to cover an emergency has fortunately not resulted in actual disaster and collapse but (has nevertheless) as we all know caused this Nation untold troubles, economic and political, for a whole generation after the close of that war.

The statement in this same second "whereas" clause that payment will discharge and retire an acknowledged contract obligation of the Government is, I regret to say, not in accordance with the fact as I see it. It wholly omits and disregards the fact that this contract obligation is due in 1945 and not today.

If I, as an individual, owe you, an individual member of the Congress, one thousand dollars payable in 1945, it is not correct, it is not a correct statement for you to tell me that I owe you one thousand dollars today. (Applause) As a matter of practical fact, if I were to put \$750 into a Government savings bond today and make that bond out in your name you will get one thousand

dollars on the due date, ten years from now. My debt to you today, therefore, cannot under the remotest possibility be considered to be more than \$750.

The final "whereas" clause, stating that spending the money is the most effective means of hastening recovery I think is so ill considered that little comment is necessary. Every authorization of expenditure by the Seventy-third Congress in its sessions of 1933 and 1934, and every appropriation by the Seventy-fourth Congress to date, for recovery purposes, has been predicated not on the mere spending of money to hasten recovery, but on the sounder principle of preventing the loss of homes and farms, of saving industry from bankruptcy, of safeguarding bank deposits, and most important of all -- of giving relief, (and) of giving jobs through public work to individuals and families faced with starvation. These (greater and) broader, these greater concerns of the American people have a prior claim for (our) consideration at this time. They have the right of way.

There is before this Congress legislation providing old age benefits and a greater measure of security for all workers against the hazards of unemployment. We are

also meeting the pressing necessities of those who are now unemployed and in need of immediate relief. In all of this, in every one of these measures, every veteran shares.

To argue for this bill as a relief measure is to indulge in the fallacy that the welfare of the country can be generally served by extending relief on some basis other than actual deserving need.

The core of the question is that a man who is sick or under some other special disability because he (was) is a soldier should certainly be assisted as such. But if a man is suffering from economic need because of the depression, even though he is a veteran, he must be placed on a par with all of the other victims of the depression. The veteran who is disabled owes his condition to the war. The healthy veteran who is unemployed owes his troubles to the depression. Each presents a separate and different problem. Any attempt to mingle the two problems is to confuse our efforts.

(Even the) Every veteran (who is) on relief will benefit only temporarily by this measure, because the payment of this sum to him will remove him from the

group entitled to relief (if the ordinary rules of relief agencies are followed) under the rules of relief agencies which have been unanimously adopted and unanimously approved. For him this measure would give but it would also take away. And in the end he would be the loser.

The veteran who suffers from this depression can best be aided by the rehabilitation of the country as a whole. His country with honor and gratitude returned him at the end of the War to the citizenry from which he came. He became once more a member of the great civilian population. His interests became identified with its fortunes and also with its misfortunes.

Some years ago (it) this was well said by the distinguished Senior Senator from Idaho: (that) "The soldier of this country cannot be aided except as the country itself is rehabilitated. The soldier cannot come back except as the people as a whole come back. The soldier cannot prosper unless the people prosper. He has now gone back and intermingled and become a part of the citizenship of the country; he is wrapped up in its welfare or in its adversity. The handing out to him of a few dollars will not benefit him under such circumstances,

whereas it will greatly injure the prospects of the country and the restoration of normal conditions."

It is generally conceded that the settlement by adjusted compensation certificates made in 1924 was fair and it was accepted as fair by the overwhelming majority of World War Veterans themselves.

I have much sympathy for the argument that some who remained at home in those three years, remained at home in civilian employ enjoyed special privilege and unwarranted remuneration. That is true -- bitterly true -- but a recurrence of that type of war profiteering can and must be prevented in any future war. (Applause)

I invite the Congress and the veterans with the great masses of the American population to join with me in progressive efforts to root a recurrence of such injustice out of American life. But we should not destroy privilege and create new privilege at the same time. Two wrongs do not make a right. (Applause)

The herculean task of the United States Government today is to take care that its citizens have the necessities of life. We are seeking honestly and honorably to do this, irrespective of class or group. Rightly,

we give preferential treatment to those men who were wounded, disabled, or who became ill as a result of war service. Rightly, we give care to those who subsequently have become ill. The others -- and they represent the great majority -- are today in the prime of life, are today in full bodily vigor. They are American citizens who should be accorded equal privileges and equal rights to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- no less and no more.

It is important to make one more point. In accordance with the mandate of the Congress, our budget has been set. The public has accepted it. On that basis this Congress has made and is making its appropriations. That budget asked for appropriations in excess of receipts to the extent of four billions of dollars. The whole of that deficit was to be applied for work relief for the unemployed. That was a single-minded, definite purpose. Every unemployed veteran on the relief rolls was included in that proposed deficit -- he will be taken care of out of it.

I cannot in honesty assert to you that to increase that deficit this year by two billion, two hundred

million dollars will in itself bankrupt the Treasury of the United States. Today the credit of the United States is safe. But it cannot ultimately be safe if we engage in a policy of yielding to each and all of the groups that are able to enforce upon the Congress claims for special consideration. To do so is to abandon the principle of Government by and for the American people and to put in its place Government by and for political coercion by minorities. We can afford all that we need; but we can not afford all that we want.

I do not need to be a prophet to assert that if these certificates, due in 1945, are paid in full today, every candidate for election to the Senate or to the House of Representatives will in the near future be called upon in the name of patriotism to support general pension legislation for all veterans, regardless of need (or), regardless of age.

Finally, I invite your attention to the fact that (solely) only from the point of view of the good credit of the United States, the complete failure of the Congress to provide additional taxes for an additional expenditure of this magnitude would in itself and by itself alone warrant my disapproval of this measure.

I well know the disappointment that the performance of my duty in this matter will occasion to many thousand of my fellow citizens. I well realize that some who favor this bill are moved by a true desire to benefit the veterans of the World War and to contribute to the welfare of the Nation. These citizens will, however, realize that I bear an obligation as President and as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, an obligation which extends to all groups, to all citizens, to the present and to the future. I cannot be true to the office I hold if I do not weigh the claims of all in the scales of equity. I cannot swerve from this (moral) obligation.

I am thinking of those who served their country in the Army and in the Navy during the period which convulsed the entire civilized world. I saw their service at first-hand at home and overseas. I am thinking of those millions of men and women who increased crops, who made munitions, who ran our railroads, who worked in the mines, who loaded our ships during the War period.

I am thinking of those who died in the cause of America here and abroad, in uniform and out; I am thinking of the widows and orphans of all of them; I am thinking of

five millions of Americans who, with their families, are today in dire need, supported in whole or in part by Federal, State and local governments who have decreed that they shall not starve. I am thinking not only of the past, not only of today, but of the years to come. In this future of ours it is of first importance that we yield not to the sympathy which we would extend to a single group or class by special legislation for that group or class, but that we should extend assistance to all groups and all classes who in an emergency need the helping hand of (their) the Government of the United States.

I believe the welfare of the Nation, as well as the future welfare of the veterans of the Nation, wholly justifies my disapproval of this measure.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I return, without my approval, House of Representatives Bill No. 3896, providing for the immediate payment to veterans of the 1945 face value of their adjusted service certificates. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE STATE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATORS
June 17, 1935

We are all engaged in a common task and I think we can be quite informal in talking about it. There are only one or two points I want to mention. The first, of course, relates to the broad objective, what might be called the main objective of this program we are engaged in. And it does not require very difficult arithmetic for the average layman to understand it.

We have to divide three and a half million men into four billion dollars. Almost anybody can understand that. In other words, Congress has given us four billion dollars. The objective is to put three and a half million men to work during the coming fiscal year.

That means a great many heartaches for people who have very expensive projects. They might just as well recognize that. You are going to have a great many difficulties and heartburnings because you will have to turn down a lot of splendid projects all over the United States. I assure you, however, that you are not going to have any more difficult time than I am having already from people all over the country who have projects that are very worthy -- projects that just do not fall within the arithmetic of the situation.

Therefore, I feel it is incumbent on us not only to explain this problem of arithmetic to the people who have these projects but also to explain it to the people as a whole, in every state of the country, so that they will understand why it is necessary, in attaining this objective of ours, to say "No" to requests that do not fall within the arithmetic.

In other words, outside of a handful of what might be called strictly Federal projects, such as the Bonneville and the Fort Peck Dams, the deepening of the Mississippi and the channel in the Upper Missouri, and a few others of that kind which total only a very small portion of the four billion dollars, practically all the rest of the money must be spent, on the average, at the rate of somewhere between eleven hundred dollars and twelve hundred dollars per man, which must of necessity include everything -- not only the amount we pay the men themselves but also the amount that the materials cost as well as the overhead costs. Translated in another way, that means that given "X" State we find out the number of people on the relief rolls and we call that "Y". Then we make a quota allocation. That quota we call "Z" and there are your three factors: "X" the name of the State, "Y" the number of people on the relief rolls, and "Z" the amount of money we can spend on them.

That is your job and ours. I should say probably it was even more your job than ours because each one of you knows the possibilities within your own State better than we can know it here in Washington. We must look to you and we are going to look to you for advice. The chances are we will take it. In regard to the spending of this allotted money, the responsibility is going to be very, very largely on you to see that the money goes around and accomplishes the objective given us as a mandate by the Congress of the United States. That is to put all the people on the relief rolls to work within the coming year.

We want to get rid of the dole. We believe that the dole is destructive of all that is best in our citizenship and we want to make people feel that they are no longer in the bread line -- no longer getting things for nothing. We want them to feel that they are getting work, even though the amount they get in pay for their work is somewhat below, in most cases, what they would be able to earn in private jobs.

That brings up the second point. We want, in so far as possible, to have every relief administrator make every effort to get the unemployed into private industry, even if it means slowing down or stopping some of the jobs we have undertaken. We should not hesitate for one single

moment to stop a certain number of projects if people are taken back into private industry. There will be a certain number of our works that can be closed down temporarily or stopped just where they are without very much loss. This whole thing very largely will depend upon the close cooperation with local authorities everywhere -- governors, mayors, county officials, and various State agencies. It is a Federal administrative program and, of course, the Federal government is ultimately responsible. You are responsible because you represent the Federal Government and yet at the same time we cannot conduct it successfully unless we get cooperation and joint effort on the part of all the localities.

The second point I make is that we have to be extremely careful not to make any kind of discrimination. We cannot discriminate in any of the work we are conducting either because of race or religion or politics. Politics, so far as we are concerned, is out. If anybody asks you to discriminate because of politics you can tell them that the President of the United States gave direct orders that there is not to be any such discrimination.

That applies both ways. It means, we cannot hurt our enemies nor help our friends. We have to and will treat them all exactly alike. In carrying out this work, consider it purely and solely from a human point of view.

Do everything you can to prevent the use of political considerations, one way or the other.

Finally, in regard to the projects themselves, we want them to be as useful as we can make them. We have all seen the work that was done in a very great hurry in the late Fall and Winter of 1933-34. Of course, a lot of that was thrown together. It was made work. It was invented work. A great many municipalities and counties had only a week or two weeks to decide what they had to do. They did the best they could. The extraordinary thing is that in view of the shortness of time so much of that work was actually useful.

Today we have all that experience behind us. Of course, there will be a great many large projects, but we must keep to that mathematical figure of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million people and four billion dollars. We must always keep that mathematical figure in mind.

This morning I saw a delegation from a certain State -- Senators and Congressmen -- who were most anxious to have a dam built. They said this dam had the approval of the Congressional Committees from six States. I said, "Fine; what will be the cost per man employed?" There wasn't one of them who could answer that question. They were for the dam and it is a grand project. But actually the first year's work on the dam would cost, if done in

the regular engineering way, about three thousand to thirty-five hundred dollars per man employed.

Obviously, if we go ahead with that particular dam, a brand new project, it means we have to offset and reduce other projects to somewhere around five or six hundred dollars. Therefore it probably is not a practical thing for us to do if we keep our arithmetic in mind. I think we can get across to the country the very simple proposition that we have a mandate from Congress to put three and one-half million people in this country to work for four billion dollars. I said to this delegation:

"I am all for this dam; I think it is a very important project on a very important river in the United States. It is going to prevent floods and so forth, but, in order to do it, I would have to increase the allotment to your particular State by ten or fifteen million dollars. Are you willing to ask me to take ten or fifteen million dollars away from the other forty-seven States of the Union and give it to your State?" They said: "No, we can't ask that."

That is a very simple answer to people who would ask you in your several States to exceed the allotment. We have only so much money and if anybody gets an excess allotment it means that the other fellow of necessity will have to pay the bill. That is why I stress the need of

making clear to the people in your own States the common objective, -- the Congressional intent, your intent and mine -- to put these unemployed to work during the coming year for a given sum of money. This sum is not elastic but definite; a fixed appropriation of the Congress.

We naturally want to decentralize and give you people authority, just as much as we possibly can. The responsibility really is yours in the first instance; it is only ours in the very ultimate instance.

Harry Hopkins and I are considering offering a medal -- a medal to the State Administrator who causes us the fewest headaches.

We are ready to answer questions and to help you out with any problem you have on your hands. Except, probably for a few days' holiday occasionally, between now and the first of July, 1936, you will find Harry and me on the job practically all the time. So, if any problems arise, do please, if we can help you, let us know about them.

We will give you 100% cooperation and on your shoulders rests not only a great responsibility but also, I think, a very splendid opportunity to do a fine service for this country.

We all hope there is going to be a very definite and distinct pickup all over the United States. We are working slowly but very surely toward the elimination of the major unemployment problem we have had during these past few years. Of course, we always will have a certain number of unemployed with us, but nothing like the present scale, we hope. And, this year, I believe, is going to be the beginning of the picking up of the greater part of this unemployment slack from which we have been suffering.

It is very fine to see you. Bless you all. I hope you go to it, with your coats off, and that the dirt will begin to fly very soon.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE STATE DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH
ADMINISTRATION

August 20, 1935

I am glad to see this particular group. We have been looking forward to the initiation of this youth program for a great many years. In previous days groups came down here to talk about education, child welfare and various things like that. They had very interesting discussions and they passed very nice resolutions. Later the whole proceedings were bound up and distributed around the country. Everybody went home and little, if anything, resulted from these efforts.

Our procedure is different. We have asked you here to start something. We have given you fifty million dollars. It is the first time the Federal Government has attempted a great national project of this kind. It is an experiment, but we are going to get action, something more than mere resolutions, out of it.

It is up to you to see that action is effectively carried out. I am very glad that we have such a fine personnel to start this work. As you know, a very large portion of the money is going to be used to enable boys and girls to carry on their education -- boys and girls who could not otherwise do it. But there is also a large

amount, very nearly half, set aside for other types of work such as vocational training, the building of playgrounds and the establishment of forums in various places.

We have not decided entirely on that part of the program as yet; that is one of the things we want to talk over with all of you.

As to the experimental part of it -- I suppose we can stress this -- we don't know how it is going to turn out next year when perhaps we won't have as much money. The future is going to depend on the success of the experiment. If the experiment is a success, there is not much doubt in my mind that future Congresses will continue the work. Therefore, for that very reason, you have a very great responsibility. The success of the program depends, in large part, on all of you. You are building for the future, not only for the coming year.

Of course, primarily, we have to recognize that the work this year is for the benefit of the young people of the families now on relief but, in a larger sense, it includes, through the effect it will have, all young people, in every part of the Nation.

Figures show that there are more than 2,900,000 young people in families on relief and of these 2,900,000, 1,700,000 are on relief in urban areas and 1,200,000 are on relief in rural areas. In addition to that, out of the

total of 2,900,000, half a million are negroes. Furthermore, less than one-half of all these young people have reached or gone beyond the eighth grade. It seems to me it should be our aim and purpose to secure for these 2,900,000 young people the opportunity to share equally with their fellows the normal blessings of our traditional American life, to be a part of and to have a share in normal family life, in school work and in the better fitting of themselves for jobs and for life work.

I wish I could have taken part in your discussions. I am going to follow the work you do with great interest and I am very proud of the way in which you are undertaking it.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE ORGANIZED FARMERS OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL AMPHITHEATRE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Monday, December 9, 1935, 10.15 A.M.

(The President was introduced by President O'Neal of the American Farm Bureau Federation.)

Mr. O'Neal, ladies and gentlemen:

The last time that I spoke to the representatives of the organized farmers of America was in this same City in 1929 or perhaps 1930. At that time you were all of the representatives of farm organizations, and you were all in one fairly small hotel room and now look at this meeting.

Going back not so far, just three years ago, in 1932,

(All of the above was extemporaneous.)

in addressing the farmers of the Nation, I reminded them that the economic life of the United States is a seamless web. (This) That was a means of illustrating the great dependence of each economic unit in the Nation upon every other unit. Farm prosperity, as we know today, cannot exist without city prosperity, and certainly city prosperity cannot exist without farm prosperity. (Applause)

It is therefore especially appropriate for you, as representatives of the farmers of the Nation, to meet here in this great metropolis of the Middle West -- here in Chicago where the interests of agriculture are interwoven with the interests of other industries serving the Nation's needs. Here is a common meeting ground of agriculture, transportation, industry and labor.

Only a few generations ago, when perhaps some of us old people were young, interdependence between agriculture and industry was not in any way as great as it is today; but now your welfare depends in part on what you in the country do and also in large part on what people do in the cities as well.

Your own experience of three and four years ago doubtless brings all of this vividly to your minds. Your sufferings -- those sufferings of rural America were not because you were not producing -- for your granaries and storehouses were bursting with the products of your labor -- but because things in city and country had both got out of balance and purchasing power had declined to the point where people in the cities did not have the money to buy farm produce and people on the farms did not have the money to buy city products.

Two things (were) at that time were especially clear. First, that because of almost unbelievably low prices for farm products, the growers of these products could not meet their indebtedness, could not pay their taxes, (and) could not meet the living expenses of their own families. The other (fact) thing was that in most major crops a constantly accumulating surplus had reached such absurdly high levels that crop price levels could not possibly rise until something was done to cut down to a reasonable level the bulging surplus which overhung the market.

For these reasons the recovery program that this Administration proposed and that Congress enacted was a many-sided one. The Administration and the Congress that took office in March 1933 recognized that the emergency they faced (then) came from many causes and endangered the life of many groups. Consequently, it put the power of government and the resources of government behind not only railroads and banks, but the industrial worker(s) of the Nation, the farmer(s), the small home owner(s), the unemployed, and the young people who suffered from utter lack of opportunity. It was a great emergency and it

required swift action. You and I know that mistakes were inevitable because it was a new field.

It was also inevitable (too) that time had to elapse before results were fully felt. When the many cells of our economic life were dying for lack of the blood of purchasing power, it took time, after fear had begun to subside, for new, vital purchasing power to be diffused once more. But, my friends, that life is coming back -- buoyant, happy life -- we need no evidence beyond what we see and hear around us. (Prolonged applause)

Justice and common sense, and they always go hand in hand -- justice and old-fashioned common sense demanded that in the building of purchasing power we had to start with agriculture. I knew enough of the problems of the men and women who were partners with the soil to realize the depth of their sufferings and the extent of their need back there in 1932 and (early) 1933. I knew the pangs of fear and moments of rejoicing that come to the farmer as the harvest frowns or smiles. And I realize the almost equally crushing sense of futility that comes to a farmer when, after months of toiling from morning to night, he reaps a bumper crop, only to see the

price fall so low that it scarcely pays him to take his crop to market.

One of the greatest curses of American life has been speculation. (Applause) (I do not) At this moment I am not referring to the obvious speculation in stocks and bonds and land booms. You and I know, however, that it is not inherently a good thing for individuals in any nation to be able to make great fortunes by playing the market without the necessity of using much either in the way (either) of toil or of brains; (applause) their tools are not brains, they are a little capital and a good deal of luck.

The kind of speculation I am talking about is the involuntary speculation of the farmer when he puts his crops into the ground. How can it be healthy for a country to have the price of crops vary three hundred and five hundred and seven hundred per cent, all in less than a generation? If you invest your savings or your capital in what you consider a wholly safe investment, which will conserve your principal so that you will still have that principal intact after ten years or twenty years or thirty years, you are naturally (aghast) upset if the value of

that investment drops 50%. Equally, when you make the investment you do not expect the principal suddenly to increase 50% in value.

And yet (we have) many leaders in this country, not farm leaders, shrugged (our) their shoulders and laughed it off when (we) they (have seen) saw cotton run up and down the scale between 4½¢ and 28¢, wheat run up and down the scale between \$1.50 and 30¢ -- corn, hogs, cattle, potatoes, rye, peaches -- all of them fluctuating from month to month and from year to year, 300, 500, 700%, fluctuating in mad gyrations, which, of necessity, have left the growers of them speculators against their will, and that is what we propose to end in America. (Applause)

The measures to which we turned to stop the decline and rout of American agriculture originated in the aspirations of the farmers themselves expressed through the several farm organizations. I turned to these organizations and took their counsel and sought to help them to get these purposes embodied in the law of the land. What you wanted and what you and I have endeavored to achieve was to put an end to the destructive forces that were threatening American agriculture. We sought to stop

the rule of tooth and claw that threw farmers into bankruptcy or turned them virtually into serfs, forced them to let their buildings, fences and machinery deteriorate, made them rob their soil of its God-given fertility, deprived their sons and daughters of a decent opportunity on the farm. To those days, I trust, the organized power of the Nation has put an end forever. (Applause)

I say "the organized power of the Nation" advisedly, because you and I as Americans who still believe in our Republican form of Constitutional Government know, as a simple fact, that forty-eight separate sovereign States, acting each one as a separate unit, never were able and never will be able to legislate or to administer individual State laws which will adequately (to) balance the agricultural life of a nation so greatly dependent on nationally grown crops of many kinds. (Applause)

As a first step organized agriculture pointed out that it was necessary to bring agriculture into a fair degree of equality with other parts of our economic life. For so long as agriculture remained a dead weight on economic life, sooner or later the entire structure would crash as it did in 1929. We used for temporary

guidance the idea of parity between farm prices and industrial prices. As you know, the figures that we used to determine the degree to which agricultural prices had fallen in relation to other prices were based (up) on the figures of 1909 to 1914. This was a fairly satisfactory way of measuring our efforts and our immediate objectives. Those five years, 1909 to 1914, preceding the beginning of the World War were years of fair prosperity in this country. They were the last years before the widespread disturbance caused by the World War took place in our economic life. And measured by the figures built upon this standard, the relative purchasing power of the farmers of America had fallen to less than 50% of normal in early 1933. I promised to do what I could to remedy this, and without burdening you with unnecessary figures, let the record say that a relative purchasing power of below 50% has (now) moved up today to better than 90%. (Applause) As I have pointed out before, and as you know, this rise in farm prices has meant a very substantial improvement in the total of the farm income of the (United States) country. The best available figures show that it has increased nearly \$3,000,000,000 in the past two and one-half years.

Now, this buying power has been felt in (many lines) every line of business; outstanding among these is the farm equipment industry in which employment, employment, mind you, jumped from 27% of the average in October, 1932, to 116% in October, 1935. (Applause) In the motor car industry, which has found some of its best markets on farms and in small towns, over the same three years' span employment has increased from 42% to 105%. (Applause) These simple figures show how industrial employment in the cities has been benefited by the improvement in the farmer's condition, and let me assure you that you are not the only people who understand this. The city dwellers are beginning to understand it too.

Increasing payrolls in the farm equipment and automobile industries in turn are stimulating other lines. Only a few days ago I noted an item in the papers which I thought (very significant) was a good illustration. It told of increased activity in the textile mills. One reason, said the newspaper account, was the demand for textiles in the manufacture of automobiles. There you have the complete chain. The cotton growing South, with more money to spend, buys new automobiles. The automobile

makers buy more cotton goods from manufacturers in the Northeast and the Southeast and these manufacturers in turn go into the market for more cotton. Goods are moving again, and as goods are moving, so is money moving once more, and as it flows, millions of farm and city families are getting, and getting rightly, a bigger share of the national income. (Applause)

I think it is safe to say that although prices for farm products show many increases over depression lows, the farm program as a whole, instead of burdening consumers as a group has actually given them net benefits. (Applause) There are individuals whose incomes have not risen in proportion to the rise in certain food (prices) stuffs; but at the same time the total net income of city dwellers is (several) many billion dollars higher than it was in 1932, and I think you will agree with me that bargain prices for food in 1932 were little consolation to people in cities with no income whatsoever. (Applause)

Though food prices in the cities are not on the average as high as they were, for example in 1928 or 1929, yet they are in many cases too high. It is difficult to explain (why) in many cases why if the farmer gets an

increase for his food crop, an increase over what he got three years ago, the consumer in the city has to pay two and three and four times the amount of that increase.

(Applause) Lifting prices on the farm up to the level where the farmer and his family can live, you and I know, is opposed chiefly by the few who profited heavily from the depression. (Applause) It is they and their henchmen who are doing their best to foment city people against the farmers and the farm program. It is that type of political profiteer, for example, who seeks to discredit the vote in favor of a continued corn-hog program by comparing your desire for a fair price for the farmer to the appetite of hogs for corn, but that kind of remark does not get very far in the United States. (Applause)

(Yet) Yes, I know that the great masses of city people are fair-minded. They, like yourselves, suffered deeply from the depression, and I believe with all my heart that millions of these city people, struggling back towards better days, resent the attempts of political advantage seekers and profiteers to heap ridicule upon the recovery efforts that all of us are (making) trying to make. (Applause)

Some of the same type of individuals and groups

are also trying to stir up (farmers) the farm population of America against other phases of the broad recovery program. Dispensers of discord are saying that farmers have been victimized by the new Reciprocal Trade Agreement with Canada and they are painting pictures of a great flood of imports of farm products rushing across the border. But, just as I am confident that the great masses of city people are fair-minded, so I am equally sure that the great majority of American farmers will be fair in their judgment of the new Trade Agreement. (Applause) Let us put it this way: If the calamity howlers should happen to be right, you have every assurance that Canada and the United States will join in correcting inequalities as good neighbors will do. (Applause) But I, for one, do not believe for a single moment that the calamity howlers are right. (Applause)

No, agriculture, far from being crucified by this Agreement, as some have told you, actually gains from it. We export more agricultural products to Canada than we have imported from her. We shall continue to do so, for the very simple reason that the United States, with its larger area of agricultural land, its more varied

climate (and), its vastly greater population, produces far more of most (agricultural) products, including animal products, vegetables and fruits, than does Canada.

In the case of the few reductions that have been made, quota limitations are set on the amount that may be brought in at the lower rates.

On the other side of the picture we believe, and most unbiased men believe, that the general increase in our trade with Canada, including the exports of our factories, will so add to the purchasing power of hundreds of thousands of wage earners that they will be able to spend far more than they do today for the products of our own farms, our own forests and our own fisheries. (Applause) We have heard before and we hear every week the simple statement that greater trade is merely another word for more production and more employment, and that statement ought to be understood in every farmhouse of the country. The proof of this particular pudding is in the eating and the best way to judge the new accord is to (observe) see how it works out. Analyze, my friends, (and remember) the sources of the objections, analyze the motives of the objectors. Remember too the old saying, "It all depends on whose baby has the measles." (Applause and laughter)

But the success that has attended and is attending our efforts to stem the depression and set the tide running the other way cannot blind us to the necessity of looking ahead to the permanent measures which are necessary to a more stable, economic life. We are regaining a more fair balance among the groups that constitute the Nation and we must look to the factors that will make that balance stable.

The thing that we are all (are) seeking is justice -- justice in the common sense interpretation of that word -- the interpretation that means "Do unto your neighbor as you would be done by." That interpretation means justice against exploitation on the part of those who do not care much for the lives, the happiness and the prosperity of their neighbors. The Nation applauds the efforts of its agencies of Government to deal swiftly with kidnappers, gangsters and racketeers. That is justice. The Nation applauds the efforts of its agencies of Government to save innocent victims from wildcat banking, from watered stocks, and from all other kinds of "confidence games". That is justice. (Applause) The Nation applauds the efforts of Government to obtain and to

maintain fair rewards for labor, whether it be the labor of the farmer or the labor of the factory worker or the labor of the white collar man. That is justice. (Applause) Yes, the Nation applauds efforts, through the agencies of Government, to give a greater social security to the aged and to unemployed, to improve the health of the Nation, and to create better opportunities for (our) the young people. That, too, my friends, is justice.

In this quest for justice we have made progress. It is a lasting progress, lasting because the people of the Nation have learned more about effective cooperation in the past two and a half years than in the previous twenty-five years. (Applause) And so we understand more than ever (before) what the term "the seamless web" means. We seek to balance agriculture and to reach that objective we have made great strides. But in balancing agriculture we know that it must be in balance not alone with itself, but with industry and business as well -- that the producing public must give and will give consideration to the consuming public.

Year by year as we go on, many details, many problems, will need to be analyzed and solved. Agriculture and industry and business are in overwhelming majorities cooperating for a common justice as never before. (Applause)

In these present days we have seen and are seeing, not a re-birth of material prosperity alone; of greater significance to our national future is that spiritual re-awakening, that deeper thinking and understanding that has come to our land. We who strive to dispel the bitterness, to dispel (and) the littleness of the few who still think and talk in terms of the old and utter selfishness, we are working towards the destruction of sectionalism, of class antagonism and of malice. (Applause) We who strive for cooperation among all parts of our great population in every part of the Nation, we intend to win through to a better day. (Applause) Yes, we strive for the United States of America, and if we shall succeed, as by God's help we will, America will point the way towards a better world. (Prolonged applause)

(President O'Neal then bestowed the 1935 Award for distinguished service in the interest of organized agriculture on the President, who said, "That makes me very, very happy. I don't deserve it, but I am grateful to you. Thanks very much. It has been a grand day in my life.")

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONGRESS
January 3, 1933

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

We are about to enter upon another year of the responsibility which the electorate of the United States has placed in our hands. Having come (so) thus far, it is fitting that we should pause to survey the ground which we have covered and the path which lies ahead.

On the fourth day of March, 1933, on the occasion of taking the oath of office as President of the United States, I addressed the people of our country. Need I recall either the scene or the national circumstances attending the occasion? The crisis of that moment was almost exclusively a national one. In recognition of that fact, so obvious to the millions in the streets and in the homes of America, I devoted by far the greater part of that address to what I called, and the Nation called, critical days within our own borders.

You will remember that on that 4th of March, 1933, the world picture was an image of substantial peace. International consultation and widespread hope for the

bettering of relations between the nations gave to all of us a reasonable expectation that the barriers to mutual confidence, to increased trade, and to the peaceful settlement of disputes could be progressively removed. In fact my only reference to the field of world policy in that address was in these words - "I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor -- the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so respects the rights of others -- a neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

In the years that have followed, that sentiment has remained the dedication of this Nation. Among the nations of the great Western Hemisphere the policy of the good neighbor has happily prevailed. At no time in the four and a half centuries of modern civilization in the Americas has there existed -- in any year, in any decade, (or) in any generation in all that time -- a greater spirit of mutual understanding, of common helpfulness, and of devotion to the ideals of self-government than exists today in the twenty-one American Republics and their neighbor, the Dominion of Canada. (Applause) This policy of the

good neighbor among the Americas is no longer a hope -- no longer an objective remaining to be accomplished -- it is a fact, active, present, pertinent and effective. In this achievement, every American Nation takes an understanding part. There is neither war, nor rumor of war, nor desire for war. The inhabitants of this vast area, two hundred and fifty million strong, spreading more than eight thousand miles from the Arctic to the Antarctic, believe in, and propose to follow, the policy of the good neighbor: (Applause) They wish with all their heart that the rest of the world might do likewise.

The rest of the world -- Ah! there is the rub.

Were I today to deliver an Inaugural Address to the people of the United States, I could not limit my comments on world affairs to one paragraph. With much regret I should be compelled to devote the greater part to world affairs. Since the summer of that same year of 1933, the temper and the purposes of the rulers of many of the great populations in Europe and (in) Asia have not pointed the way either to peace or to good-will among men. Not only have peace and good-will among men grown more remote in those areas of the earth during this period, but a point

has been reached where the people of the Americas must take cognizance of growing ill-will, of marked trends towards aggression, of increasing armaments, of shortening tempers -- a situation which has in it many of the elements that lead to the tragedy of general war.

On those other continents many nations, principally the smaller (ones) peoples, if left to themselves, would be content with their boundaries and willing to solve within themselves and in cooperation with their neighbors their individual problems, both economic and social. The rulers of those nations, deep in their hearts, follow these peaceful and reasonable aspirations of their peoples. These rulers must remain ever vigilant against the possibility today or tomorrow of invasion, (or) of attack by the rulers of other peoples who fail to subscribe to the principles of bettering the human race by peaceful means.

Within those other nations -- those which today must bear the primary, definite responsibility for jeopardizing world peace -- what hope lies? To say the least, there are grounds for pessimism. It is idle for us or for others to preach that the masses of the people who constitute (those) these nations (which) are dominated by the twin

spirits of autocracy and aggression, are out of sympathy with their rulers, that they are allowed no opportunity to express themselves, that they would change things if they could.

That, unfortunately, is not so clear. It might be true that the masses of the people in those nations would change the policies of their governments if they could be allowed full freedom, (and) full access to the processes of Democratic government as we understand them. But they do not have that access; lacking it they follow blindly and fervently the lead of those who seek autocratic power.

Nations seeking expansion, seeking the rectification of injustices springing from former wars, (or) seeking outlets for trade, for population or even for their own peaceful contributions to the progress of civilization, fail to demonstrate that patience necessary to attain reasonable and legitimate objectives by peaceful negotiation or by an appeal to the finer instincts of world justice.

They have therefore impatiently reverted to the old belief in the law of the sword, or to the fan-

tastic conception that they, and they alone, are chosen to fulfill a mission and that all the others among the billion and a half of human beings in the world must and shall learn from and be subject to them.

I recognize and you will recognize that these words which I have chosen with deliberation will not prove popular in any nation that chooses to fit this shoe to its foot. Such sentiments, however, will find sympathy and understanding in those nations where the people themselves are honestly desirous of peace but must constantly align themselves on one side or the other in the kaleidoscopic jockeying for position which is characteristic of European and Asiatic relations today. For the peace-loving nations, and there are many of them, find that their very identity depends on their moving and moving again on the chess board of international politics.

I suggested in the spring of 1933 that eighty-five or ninety per cent of all the people in the world were content with the territorial limits of their respective nation(s) and were willing further to reduce their armed forces if every other nation in the world would agree to do likewise.

That is equally true today, and it is even more true today that world peace and world good-will are blocked by only ten or fifteen per cent of the world's population. That is why efforts to reduce armies have thus far not only failed but have been met by vastly increased armaments on land and in the air. That is why even efforts to continue the existing limits on Naval armaments into the years to come show such little current success.

But the policy of the United States has been clear and consistent. We have sought with earnestness in every possible way to limit world armaments and to attain the peaceful evolution, the peaceful solution of disputes among all nations.

We have sought by every legitimate means to exert our moral influence against repression, (discrimination,) against intolerance, (and) against autocracy and in favor of freedom of expression, equality before the law, religious tolerance and popular rule. (Applause)

In the field of commerce we have undertaken to encourage a more reasonable interchange of the world's goods. In the field of international finance we have, so far as we are concerned, put an end to dollar diplomacy,

to money grabbing, (and) to speculation for the benefit of the powerful and the rich, at the expense of the small and the poor. (Applause)

As a consistent part of a clear policy, the United States is following a twofold neutrality towards any and all nations which engage in wars that are not of immediate concern to the Americas. First, we decline to encourage the prosecution of war by permitting belligerents to obtain arms, ammunition or implements of war from the United States: Second, we seek to discourage the use by belligerent nations of any and all American products calculated to facilitate the prosecution of a war in quantities over and above our normal exports (to) of them in time of peace. (Applause)

I trust that these objectives thus (clearly and) unequivocally stated will be carried forward by cooperation between this Congress and the President. (Applause)

I realize that I have emphasized to you the gravity of the situation which confronts the people of the world. This emphasis is justified because of its importance to civilization and therefore to the United States. Peace is jeopardized by the few and not by the

many. Peace is threatened by those who seek selfish power. The world has witnessed similar eras -- as in the days when petty kings and feudal barons were changing the map of Europe every fortnight, or when great emperors and great kings were engaged in a mad scramble for colonial empire.

We hope that we are not again at the threshold of such an era. But if face it we must, then the United States and the rest of the Americas can play but one role: through a well-ordered neutrality to do naught to encourage the contest, through adequate defense to save ourselves from embroilment and attack, and through example and all legitimate encouragement and assistance to persuade other nations to return to the (ways) days of peace and goodwill. (Prolonged applause)

The evidence before us clearly proves that autocracy in world affairs endangers peace and that such threats do not spring from those nations devoted to the democratic ideal. If this be true in world affairs, it should have the greatest weight in the determination of domestic policies.

Within democratic nations the chief concern of the people is to prevent the (continuance) continuation

or the rise of autocratic institutions that beget slavery at home and aggression abroad. (Applause) (In the United States) Within our borders, as in the world at large, popular opinion is at war with a power-seeking minority.

(This) That is no new thing. It was fought out in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. From time to time since then the battle has been continued, under Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. (Applause)

(More recently) In these latter years we have witnessed the domination of government by financial and industrial groups, numerically small but politically dominant in the twelve years that succeeded the World War. The present group of which I speak is indeed numerically small and, while it exercises a large influence and has much to say in the world of business, it does not, I am confident, speak the true sentiments of the less articulate but more important elements that constitute real American business. (Applause, cheers)

I go back once more:

In March, 1933, I appealed to the Congress of the United States and to the people of the United States in a

new effort to restore power to those to whom it rightfully belonged. The response to that appeal resulted in the writing of a new chapter in the history of popular government. You, the members of the Legislative branch, and I, the Executive, contended for and established a new relationship between government and people.

What were the terms of that new relationship? They were an appeal from the clamor of many private and selfish interests, yes, (even) an appeal from the clamor of partisan interest, to the ideal of the public interest. Government became the representative and the trustee of the public interest. Our aim was to build upon essentially democratic institutions, seeking all the while the adjustment of burdens, the help of the needy, the protection of the weak, the liberation of the exploited and the genuine protection of the people's property.

It goes without saying that to create such an economic constitutional order more than a single legislative enactment was called for. We had to build, you in the Congress and I, as the Executive, upon a broad base. Now, after thirty-four months of work, we contemplate a fairly rounded whole. We have returned the

control of the Federal Government to the City of Washington. (Prolonged applause)

To be sure, in so doing, we have invited battle. (Applause, cheers) We have earned the hatred of entrenched greed. The very nature of the problem that we faced made it necessary to drive some people from power and strictly to regulate others. I made that plain when I took the oath of office in March, 1933. I spoke of the practices of the unscrupulous money changers who stood indicted in the court of public opinion. I spoke of the rulers of the exchanges of mankind's goods, who failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence. I said that they had admitted their failure and had abdicated.

Abdicated? Yes, in 1933, but now with the passing of danger they forget their damaging admissions and withdraw their abdication. (Applause, cheers)

They seek -- let me put it this way, they seek the restoration of their selfish power. They offer to lead us back around the same old corner into the same old dreary street. (Laughter, applause)

(Yet) Yes, there are still determined groups that are intent upon that very thing. Rigorously held up to

popular examination their true character (reveals) presents itself. They steal the livery of great national constitutional ideals to serve discredited special interests. As guardians and trustees for great groups of individual stockholders they wrongfully seek to carry the property and the interests entrusted to them into the arena of partisan politics. They seek -- this minority in business and (finance) industry -- to control and often do control and use for their own purposes legitimate and highly honored business associations; they engage in vast propaganda to spread fear and discord among the people -- they would "gang up" against the people's liberties. (Applause, laughter, cheers)

The principle that they would instill into government if they succeed in seizing power is well shown by the principles which many of them have instilled into their own affairs: autocracy toward labor, toward stockholders, (and) towards consumers, towards public sentiment. Autocrats in smaller things, they seek autocracy in bigger things. "By their fruits ye shall know them." (Applause)

If these gentlemen believe, as they say they believe, that the measures adopted by this Congress and its predecessor, and carried out by this Administration, have

hindered rather than promoted recovery, let them be consistent. Let them propose to this Congress the complete repeal of these measures. The way is open to such a proposal. (Applause)

In other words, let action be positive and not negative. The way is open in the Congress of the United States for an expression of opinion by yeas and nays. Shall we say that values are restored and that the Congress will, therefore, repeal the laws under which we have been bringing them back? Shall we say that because national income has grown with rising prosperity, we shall repeal existing taxes and thereby put off the day of approaching a balanced budget and of starting to reduce the national debt? Shall we abandon the reasonable support and regulation of banking? Shall we restore the dollar to its former gold content? Shall we say to the farmer -- "the prices for your products are in part restored, now go and hoe your own row"? Shall we say to the home owners (and the debtors) -- "we have reduced your rates of interest -- we have no further concern with how you keep your home or what you pay for your money, that is your affair"? Shall we say to the several millions of unemployed citizens

who face the very problem of existence -- of getting enough to eat -- "we will withdraw from giving you work, we will turn you back to the charity of your communities and to those men of selfish power who tell you that perhaps they will employ you if the government leaves them strictly alone"? (Laughter, applause) Shall we say to the needy unemployed -- "your problem is a local one except that perhaps the Federal government, as an act of mere generosity, will be willing to pay to your city or to your county a few grudging dollars to help maintain your soup kitchens"? Shall we say to the children who have worked all day in the factories -- "child labor is a local issue and so are your starvation wages; something to be solved or left unsolved by the jurisdiction(s) of forty-eight States"? Shall we say to the laborer -- "your right to organize, your relations with your employer have nothing to do with the public interest; if your employer will not even meet with you to discuss your problems and his, that is none of our affair"? Shall we say to the unemployed and the aged -- "social security lies not within the province of the Federal government, you must seek relief elsewhere"? Shall we say to the men and women who

live in conditions of squalor in country and in city -- "the health and the happiness of you and your children are no concern of ours"? Shall we expose our population once more by the repeal of laws to protect them against the loss of their honest investments and against the manipulations of dishonest speculators? Shall we abandon the splendid efforts of the Federal government to raise the health standards of the nation and to give youth a decent opportunity through such means as the Civilian Conservation Corps?

Members of the Congress, let these challenges be met. If this is what these gentlemen want, let them say so to the Congress of the United States. Let them no longer hide their dissent in a cowardly cloak of generality. (Applause, cheers) Yes, let them define the issue. We have been specific in our affirmative action. Let them be specific in their negative attack.

But the challenge faced by this Congress is more menacing than merely a return to the past -- bad as that would be. Our resplendent economic autocracy does not want to return to that individualism of which they prate, even though the advantages under that system went to the

ruthless and the strong. They realize that in thirty-four months we have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper. But in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy such power would provide shackles for the liberties of the people. Give them their way and they will take the course of every autocracy of the past -- power for themselves, enslavement for the public. (Applause)

Their weapon is the weapon of fear. I have said -- "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." That is as true today as it was in 1933. But such fear as they (distill) instill today is not a natural fear, a normal fear; it is a synthetic, manufactured, poisonous fear that is being spread subtly, expensively and cleverly by the same people who cried in those other days -- "save us, save us, else we perish." (Applause, cheers, stamping of feet)

I am confident that The Congress of the United States well understands the facts and is ready to wage unceasing warfare against those who seek a continuation of (the) that spirit of fear. The carrying out of the

laws of the land as enacted by the Congress requires protection until final adjudication by the highest tribunal of the land. The Congress has the right and can find the means to protect its own prerogatives. (Applause)

We are justified in our present confidence. Restoration of national income, which shows continuing gains for the third successive year, supports the normal and logical policies under which agriculture and industry are returning to full activity. Under these policies we approach a balance of the national budget. (Applause) National income increases; tax receipts, based on that income, increase without the levying of new taxes. That is why I am able to say to this, the second session of the Seventy-fourth Congress, that based on existing laws it is my belief that no new taxes, over and above the present taxes, are either advisable or necessary. (Applause, cheers)

National income increases; employment increases. Therefore, we can look forward to a reduction in the number of those citizens who are in need. Therefore, also, we can anticipate a reduction in our appropriations for relief.

In the light of our substantial material progress, in the light of the increasing effectiveness of

the restoration of popular rule, I recommend to the Congress that we advance and that we do not retreat. (Applause)
I have confidence that you will not fail the people of the nation whose mandate you have already so faithfully fulfilled.

I repeat, with the same faith and the same determination, my words of March 4th, 1933 -- "We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with a clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with a clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life. We do not distrust the future of essential democracy."

I cannot better end this Message on the state of the Union than by repeating the words of a wise philosopher at whose feet I sat many (, many) years ago:

"What great crises teach all men whom the example and counsel of the brave inspire is the lesson: Fear not, view all the tasks of life as sacred, have faith in the triumph of the ideal, give daily all that you have to give, be loyal and rejoice

whenever you find yourselves part of a great ideal enterprise. You, at this moment, have the honor to belong to a generation whose lips are touched by fire. You live in a land that now enjoys the blessings of peace. But let nothing human be wholly alien to you. The human race now passes through one of its great crises. New ideas, new issues -- a new call for men to carry on the work of righteousness, of charity, of courage, of patience, and of loyalty. However memory brings back this moment to your minds, let it be able to say to you: That was a great moment. It was the beginning of a new era. This world in its crisis called for volunteers, for men of faith in life, of patience in service, of charity and of insight. I responded to the call however I could. I volunteered to give myself to my Master -- the cause of humane and brave living. I studied, I loved, I labored, unsparingly and hopefully, to be worthy of my generation." (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
DELIVERED AT THE JACKSON DAY DINNER
WASHINGTON, D. C.
BROADCAST TO 3000 JACKSON DAY DINNERS THROUGHOUT THE NATION
Wednesday, January 8, 1936

Mr. Chairman, my friends:

On our dinner cards tonight is a medallion portrait of a man who gave a memorable toast, "The Federal Union, it must be preserved."

This meeting tonight, in the City of Washington, is one of many hundreds being held throughout our forty-eight States and territorial possessions and even on board ships at sea, in honor of the memory of a great General, (and) a great President, Andrew Jackson. (Applause) To all of you I extend my most sincere and (hearty) heartfelt greetings.

I am happy to stand here tonight and declare to you that the real issue before the United States is the right of the average man and woman to lead a finer, a better and a happier life. (Applause) And that was the same issue more than (one) a hundred years ago, that confronted Andrew Jackson.

I speak tonight to this Democratic meeting, to these Democratic meetings throughout the Nation, in the

same language as if I were addressing a Republican gathering, a Progressive gathering, an Independent gathering, a Farmer Labor gathering, a gathering of businessmen or a gathering of workers or (of) farmers. There is nothing that I say here tonight that does not apply to every citizen in the country no matter what his or her political affiliations may be. (Applause)

It is true that we Americans have found party organizations to be useful, (if not) and indeed necessary, in the crystallization of opinion and in the demarcation of issues. It is true that I have received many honors at the hands of one of our great parties. It is nevertheless true that in the grave questions that confront the United States (today) at this hour, I, as President of the United States, must and will consider our common problems first, foremost and preeminently from the American point of view. (Applause)

To most of us Andrew Jackson appropriately has become the symbol of certain great ideals. I like best to think of him as a man whom the average American deeply and fundamentally understood. To the masses of his countrymen his purposes and his character were an open book. They

loved him well because they understood him well -- his passion for justice, his championship of the cause of the exploited and the downtrodden, his ardent and flaming patriotism.

Jackson sought social justice, (and) Jackson fought for human rights in his many battles to protect the people against autocratic or oligarchic aggression.

And, if at times his passionate devotion to this cause of the average citizen lent an amazing zeal to his thoughts, to his speech and to his actions, the people loved him for it the more. They realized the intensity of the attacks made by his enemies, by those who, thrust from power and position, pursued him with relentless hatred. The beneficiaries of the abuses to which he put an end pursued him with all the violence that political passions can generate. But the people of his day were not deceived. They loved him for the enemies he had made. (Applause)

Backed not only by his party but by thousands who had belonged to other parties or belonged to no party at all, Andrew Jackson was compelled to fight every inch of the way for the ideals and the policies of the Democratic

Republic (in which he believed) that was his ideal. An overwhelming proportion of the material power of the (country) Nation was arrayed against him. The great media for the dissemination of information and the moulding of public opinion fought him. Haughty, (and) sterile intellectualism opposed him. (Applause) And musty reaction disapproved him. (Applause) Hollow, (and) outworn traditionalism shook a trembling finger at him. (Applause) Yes, it seemed that sometimes all were against him -- all but the people of the United States. (Applause)

Because history so often repeats itself, (laughter) let me analyze further. Andrew Jackson stands out in the century and a half of our independent history, (as a great American) not merely because he was two-fisted, (and) not merely because he fought for the people's rights, but because, through his career, he did as much as any man in our history to increase, on the part of the voters, knowledge of public problems and an interest in their solution. Following the fundamentals of Jefferson he adhered to the broad philosophy that decisions made by the average of the voters would be more greatly enduring for, and helpful to, the Nation than decisions made by small segments of the

electorate representing small or special classes endowed with great advantages of social or economic power.

He, like Jefferson, faced with the grave difficulty of disseminating facts to the electorate, to the voters as a whole, was compelled to combat epithets, generalities, misrepresentation and the suppression of facts by the process of asking his supporters, and indeed all citizens, to constitute themselves into informal committees for the purpose of obtaining the facts and of spreading them abroad among their friends, their associates and their fellow-workers.

I am aware that some wise-cracking columnist (laughter) will probably say that good old Jackson no doubt realized that every red-blooded American citizen (considered) considers himself a committee of one anyway. (Laughter, applause) Nevertheless, Jackson got his ideas and his ideals across, not through any luxurious propaganda (laughter) but because the man on the street and the man on the farm believed in his ideas, believed in his ideals and his honesty, went out and dug up the facts and spread them abroad throughout the land.

History repeats -- and I am becoming dimly conscious of the fact that this year we are to have a national election. (Laughter) Yet, sometimes at the close of a day I say to myself that the last national election must have been held a dozen years ago -- so much water has run under the bridge, so many great events in our history have occurred since then. And yet but thirty-four months, less than three years, have gone by since March, 1933.

History repeats -- in (these) those crowded months, as in the days of Jackson, two great achievements stand forth -- the rebirth of the interest and understanding of a great citizenry in the problems of the Nation and an established government which by positive action has proved its devotion to the recovery and well-being of that citizenry. (Applause)

Whatever may be the Platform, whoever may be the nominee of the Democratic Party (laughter, applause) -- and I am told by the Chairman that a Convention is to be held to decide these momentous questions (laughter) -- the basic issue, my friends, will be inevitably the retention of popular government -- an issue fraught once

more with the difficult problem of disseminating facts and yet more facts, in the face of an opposition bent on hiding and distorting facts.

And that, my friends, is why organization, not party organization alone -- important as that is -- but (an) organization among all those, regardless of party, who believe in retaining progress and ideals, is (so) an essential.

That is why, in addition to organization, I make this specific recommendation -- that each and every one of you who are interested in obtaining the facts and in spreading those facts abroad, each and every one of you interested in getting at the truth that lies somewhere behind the smokescreen of charges and countercharges of a national campaign, constitute yourself a committee of one. (Applause) To do this you need no parchment certificate, to do this you need no title. To do this you need only your own conviction, your own intelligence and your own belief in the highest duty of the American citizen.

To act as such a committee of one you will need only your own appointment, an appointment which carries

with it some effort, some obligation on your part to carry out the task you have assigned to yourself. You will have to run down statements made to you by others which you may believe to be false. You will need to analyze the motives of those who make assertions to you, you will need to make an inventory in your own community, in order that you may check and re-check for yourself and thereby be in a position to answer those who have been misled or those who would mislead.

After my Annual Message to the Congress last Friday evening, I received many appreciative letters and telegrams from all over the country and I think it will interest you to know that within a few hours I received more of these than at any time since the critical days of the Spring of 1933. (Applause) I have carefully read those letters and telegrams and I found two facts (which) that I think are worthy of repeating to you tonight. The first is that out of the many, many hundreds a very large number were sent to me by families, families who evidently heard my Message while grouped together in the family home. "My wife and I want you to know how much we appreciate", and so forth (et cetera) -- or "The Jones family, gathered to-

night with our friends, sends you this message of confidence." In other words, as greatly and perhaps even more greatly than on any other occasion since I have been in the White House, I have the definite feeling that what I have said about the great problems that face us as a Nation received a responsive, an appreciative and an understanding answer in the homes of America. (Cheers, applause) And I need not tell you that this means a lot to me.

The other interesting fact about these letters and telegrams is the very great number of them that come from businessmen, from storekeepers, from bankers and from manufacturers. The gist of their messages to me is that they (appreciate and) are grateful, (for) that they appreciate my statement that it is but a minority (in) of business and finance that would "gang up" against the people's liberties. (Applause) I reiterate that assertion tonight. By far the greater part of the businessmen, industrialists, and other employers of the Nation seek no special advantage; they seek only an equal opportunity to share in the common benefits, the common responsibilities and the common obligations of their government.

And I am naturally grateful for this support and

for the understanding on their part that the government of the United States seeks to give them a square deal and a better deal -- seeks to protect them, (and) yes, to save them from being plowed under by the small minority of businessmen and financiers, against whom you and I (shall) will continue to wage war. (Applause, cheers)

We can be thankful that (people) men and women in all walks of life realize more and more that government is still a living force in their lives. They understand that the value of their government depends on the interest which they display in it and the knowledge they have of its policies.

A government can be no better than the public opinion (that) which sustains it. (Applause)

I know that you will not be surprised by lack of comment on my part tonight on the recent decision (by) of the Supreme Court. (two days ago) I cannot and will not render offhand judgment without studying, with the utmost care, two of the most momentous opinions, the majority opinion and the minority opinion, (applause) that have ever been rendered, (applause) that have ever been rendered in (a) any case before the Supreme Court of the

United States. The ultimate result(s) of the language of these opinions will profoundly affect the lives of Americans for many years to come. It is enough to say that the attainment of justice and the continuance of prosperity for American agriculture remains an immediate and constant objective of my Administration. (Applause, cheers)

Just as Jackson roused the people to their fundamental duties as citizens, so must the leadership of this era do its utmost to encourage and sustain widespread interest in public affairs. There was something of the eternal youth in the spirit of Andrew Jackson. The destiny of youth became the destiny of America.

Tasks immediately before us are as arduous as the conquest of the frontiers a (hundred years) century ago. The nation is still young, still growing, still conscious of its high destiny. Enthusiasm and the intelligence of the youth of the land are necessary to the fulfillment of that destiny. (Applause)

As I understand the temper of the people, particularly the temper of youth, no party of reaction, no candidates of reaction can fulfill the hope and the faith of that everlasting spirit. (Applause) It is the sacred

duty of us who are vested with the responsibility of leadership to justify the expectations of the young men and women of (America) the United States. (Applause)

We are at peace with the world; but the fight goes on. Our frontiers of today are economic, not geographic. Our enemies of today are the forces of privilege and greed within our own borders. (Applause)

And so I say to all of you, may a double portion of Old Hickory's heroic spirit be upon us tonight. (Applause) May we be inspired by the power and the glory and the justice of his rugged and fearless life.

The people of America know the heart and know the purpose of their government.

They and we will not retreat. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE
"PEOPLE'S MANDATE TO END WAR"
EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE
March 12, 1936, 11:00 A.M.

(The Chairman introduced the members of the Committee to the President and expressed to the President the appreciation of the Committee for his courtesy in seeing them. He also expressed the appreciation of his organization for the work being done by the President in promoting the Pan-American Conferences and told the President of the very favorable reaction throughout the country.)

I am glad to know about that because I was wondering whether our own country is as conscious of it as other countries in Central and South America which are particularly appreciative of it.

(The Chairman of the Committee expressed to the President his thought that the entire country was conscious of the good work being done and that they further hoped that the United States would be sympathetic with the policy being sponsored by their organization which was to stop the construction of armaments immediately and thereafter go on with the machinery for peace, such as disarmament conferences, etc.)

I am very, very sympathetic, of course from a personal point of view although, of course, we always have to be practical.

Examples are important and that is what we are trying to do, to set an example. The difficulty is to

get the example known in every part of the world. About a year ago I considered making a radio appeal to the people of Europe. I, fortunately, talk French and German, I talked it when I was a small boy, and I conceived the idea of a short address of perhaps fifteen minutes, first in English on a radio world hook-up and then in French and then in German. I could not do it in Italian and I could not do it in Czech or Russian or other languages, but those three would have been fairly effective and would have covered a great many homes.

We even went so far as to get the radio stations in Europe that have very, very high power and could send all over Europe. Then we discovered, we discovered what President Wilson discovered when he attempted to appeal to the peoples over the heads of their rulers, we discovered that while in England they have radios in a great many homes, in France they only have on a per capita basis about one percent of the radios we have got. We discovered in Italy that they have practically no radios in their homes and we discovered that in Germany, while they have a good many radios, they can only listen in through a single station twenty-five miles from them and could not get any reception from high-powered stations. That is by Government decree.

So, we are up against that problem - we cannot get information to most of the people.

I can give you a good example: somebody here went over there in the late summer of 1934. She went to stay with a Professor in Germany and she found the Professor's house, the whole top story, being rebuilt. She asked whether he was putting on an additional story and he said, "No, we are taking advantage of the Fuehrer's magnificent offer. We won't have to pay taxes this year if we make the top story of our houses fireproof and proof against bombs and also put a bomb proof in the cellar." She said, "What for? It is hundreds of miles from the French frontier."

He said, "The Fuehrer has said that every house must be made bomb proof against airplanes, that they are doing it in France. And they are doing it in England, too." Then the German Professor went on to say, "Furthermore, we are told, and the information we have is correct, that in the United States, in every seaport city, the Government is making homes flame proof and bomb proof."

Of course that is not true but the German people believe it.

Of course, the chief thing we are up against, as you know, is the problem of the living up to of the

written compact, in other words the treaties. That is the thing we have to concentrate on more than anything else. This has to be off the record, of course. Suppose some nation comes to us and asks us to make a treaty. Now what is the use of making a treaty if they break it tomorrow if they find it convenient to do so. Now, that is the state of the world in the Far East and in Europe today. The result is that all we can do is work with the people who respect their written word.

However, I am not worried about our foreign affairs, not the least bit. At present, all we can do is show by example.

On the armament question, it is a perfectly simple thing. We worked toward disarmament and they said, "We will not arm unless the other fellow makes it necessary for us to do so."

We are way behind. The army has only eight hundred planes, England has twenty-five hundred, France four thousand, Germany is working up to five thousand and Russia has six thousand.

(Somebody in the audience asked, "Do you think Europe feels it would be to to their interest to attack us?")

That is a problem we have to think about. Are we going to stand for European nations coming in and attacking

independent countries on this hemisphere in order to get raw materials. We cannot permit that. We have had one hundred years of opinion on that.

In South America, for example, there has been in the past twenty-five years a tremendous increase in the democratic form of government. They are having an election in Panama. Twenty or twenty-five years ago that election would have been decided in a junta meeting in the city of Panama. We know that. Today, what happens? You have four candidates in Panama that are stumping the country. Isn't that grand? They are going before the electors of Panama and are stumping the country, showing themselves. You cannot guaranty the kind of election you have here but, on the whole, it will be an expression of popular choice. And they are going back to the democratic ideal of Central and South America. It has been a grand advance. That is why, if the world is to continue in the democratic form of government, we have to encourage democracy.

On coast defense, I had a very delightful chat the other day with a gentleman who came in and said that perhaps we ought to go back to the idea of coast defenses. I told him a story. The story is well worth while and well worth remembering because it shows a type of thinking.

In 1898 we got into the Spanish War. That was in April. About the first of May, there appeared in all our papers, under great, big headlines, a story from the French side of Spain to the effect that news had come from Spain that Spanish cruisers had left Spain to bombard the American coast, that there were four cruisers. They were the cruisers which were afterwards destroyed in the Battle of Santiago. But the story was that they had started for the American coast.

Well, the Secretary of the Navy was waited upon by the Congressional delegation from the state of Maine. They said, "Here is this dispatch and it mentions Portland, Maine as the point of attack. And here is all of the American navy down in the West Indies. You have to give us some ironclads." So Secretary Long said, "I haven't got any ironclads. They are down around Cuba."

"Well," they said, "You must protect Portland, Maine and all the good people of Portland, Maine. We must have ironclads in Portland, Maine." And Secretary Long said, "I think I will go back to my office and see what I can do."

So, he called up the Philadelphia navy yard where there were a number of Civil War merchanters made of iron, each one carrying two, fifteen inch guns that would throw a great, round ball almost a mile. However,

they were ironclads. He had them pulled off the mud flat and painted and then he had them pulled by a tug up to the mouth of the harbor of Portland and anchored them there. Everybody was perfectly assured and happy and the men, women and children who had been drawing their bank deposits and going up country went back to Portland.

Q Did the Spanish warships ever come?

THE PRESIDENT: If they had come, they would have anchored a little more than a mile from the ironclads and would have shelled Portland, Maine. But there was the population, perfectly satisfied because the ironclads were anchored at the mouth of the harbor.

Members of the Committee then spoke to the President on behalf of the group in the Organization represented by them. They pointed out that laboring people in the Bethlehem and U. S. Steel plant were members of their Organization, also people in the ship-building plant. A member representing the Churches spoke at some length. The President again pointed out the necessity of working toward living up to agreements. One member, who said she represented sixty thousand business and professional women, pointed out the economic loss occasioned by the construction of arms, to which the President replied:)

They have to be paid for in the long run. Along that line, probably most of the European nations today would be in serious trouble, economically, if it were not

for the fact that they are employed on armements. There is no one unemployed in Italy, they are in the munitions factories. There is no one unemployed in Germany, they are all working on war orders. Eventually, of course, they will have to pay.

(The Chairman of the Committee again thanked the President and the Committee left the President's office.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE THOMAS JEFFERSON DINNER
SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK, N. Y.
Saturday, April 25, 1936, 10.30 P.M.

Governor and Mrs. Lehman, President McLaughlin,
Judge Collins, and you who celebrate once more the birth-
day of Thomas Jefferson:

It is a very deep pleasure to be welcomed this
way, to be welcomed back to my home state of New York.
(Applause)

Our State (it) has loyally supported those pro-
gressive policies of government in the making of which so
many of (us) you who are here tonight have (had a) taken
an honorable and successful part. New York State has (an
unbroken) a long record of almost a generation of liberal
government, each succeeding Administration of State affairs
building for the future upon the best which the past has
given us.

I want to take this occasion, this auspicious
occasion, to compliment the State on its great, good for-
tune in the loyal, competent and unselfish service of its
present Governor, Herbert Lehman. (Applause)

He has continued to extend and strengthen the humane laws for which this State has been noted. History repeats itself. He has met the same type of opposition today which some of us as youngsters, and Bob Wagner was one of them (applause) -- some of us met in the State Legislature twenty-five years ago. (We won then and we are winning today.) The people of this State and the people of every state meet up with obstacles. For example, it has come to me all the way to Washington that the present Assembly of this State declines to meet the obvious requirements of the Constitution of this State when it declines to meet the sum necessary to meet the debt requirements of the State during the coming fiscal year, and that this Assembly is opposed when it comes to providing relief for those in need. But, my friends, twenty-five years ago and ten years ago and five years ago we won, and Herbert Lehman is going to win again. (Applause)

As a New Yorker, I am confident, and I think you are too, that a vast majority of our citizens this Autumn as in the past will invite Governor Lehman to (continue his splendid work for at least) serve at least two years more as our Chief.

(America) A century ago this country was regarded as an economic unity. But as time went on, things happened. The country, bit by bit, was cut up (bit by bit) into segments. We heard, more and more, about the problems of particular localities, (the problems) of particular groups. More and more people put on blinders; they could see only their own individual interests or the single community in which their business (was) happened to be located.

It is only in these comparatively recent days that we have been turning back to the broader vision of the founding fathers.

The cities of the Nation and the countrysides near them have come to realize each other's existence. The same idea now is spreading on a (truly) national scale.

So that is why while I may be breaking another precedent -- and they say in Washington that my day is not complete without smashing at least one precedent -- (but) that is why I can come here to the City of New York and talk with you about the cotton problem of Georgia, the corn and hog problem of Iowa, (and) the wheat problem of the Dakotas, the dust storms of the West, the destructive tornadoes (of) in the South, and the floods (of) in the Northeast. And, in the same way I would not hesitate to discuss

the slum clearance problems or any other problems of the big cities of the East with (a) any farmer audience in Georgia or Iowa or the Dakotas or anywhere else, because we are becoming nationally-minded. (Applause)

The strong arm of the Nation is needed not in immediate relief alone -- we all grant that. It is needed also in taking measures of prevention before (natural) disasters occur. And it is needed equally (needed) in taking measures to prevent economic disasters which are not natural but (man made) are made by man.

During (the) these past three years I am quite convinced that the Hester Street and Park Avenue of this City have both come to understand that they belong (to) in the same economic pattern and indeed to the same Nation as the cotton, corn and hog belts, and the flood areas and (the) dust bowls. (Applause) Not (so) long ago it was the farm against the city and the city against the farm. But from now on if both are to (survive)prosper, it must be and shall be the farm with the city and the city with the farm. (Applause)

Some economists are still trying to find out what it was that hit us back in 1929. (Laughter) I am not a

professional economist but I think I know. (Laughter)

What hit us was a decade of debauch, of group selfishness -- the sole objective expressed in the thought -- "every man for himself" -- as the Governor has said and I am going to copy it -- "and the devil take the hindmost." And the result was that about 98 per cent of the American population turned out to be "the hindmost".

Let me illustrate what happened by taking the case of the garment workers in the City of New York (City). They make about forty per cent of all the clothes of the Nation worn outside of New York (City). That is an amazing statement. Their work and wages in this City were dependent on the sales they made all over the country. The garment workers' depression here did not begin in 1929. It began back in 1921 when the depression began on the farms of the Nation. But back in the twenties people in power still thought of prosperity chiefly in industrial or financial terms. They overlooked the farm depression; and because it went unrelieved the troubles that started among the farmers in 1921 finally and inevitably reached the garment workers on Eighth Avenue.

Nebraska's corn and Eighth Avenue's clothing are

not different problems; they are the same national problems. (Applause) Before the War a Nebraska farmer could take a two hundred pound hog to market and buy a suit of clothes made in the City of New York. But in 1932, in order to get that same suit of clothes he had to take two and a half hogs to market. Back in the twenties a cotton farmer had to raise seven pounds of cotton to buy one pair of New York made overalls. By 1932, however, he had to raise fourteen pounds of cotton to get those (New York) overalls.

Let us get the common sense of it.

Obviously, the farmers stopped buying as many clothes and when the farm districts stopped buying, New York's garment districts (soon) started bread lines. That, however, was only half (of) the vicious circle. When the garment district's breadlines grew longer buying power in the cities as a whole grew less. Other breadlines formed. Every man on a new breadline meant one person who ate less and wore less. Because the garment worker ate less the farmer sold less and his income went down. And so the vicious strangling circle was complete. Today we have broken that threshold. The American electorate proposes that it shall not be renewed. (Applause)

And while I am talking of food consumption at the end of this grand dinner, here is a fact of equal interest to the city dweller and the farmer population. If all of the seven million people living in the City of New York (City) could afford to buy the bread and meat and vegetables and milk and fish and cotton and wool that their health and decent living call for, then we in this country would need crop production from three million more acres of good crop land than we are using today to feed and clothe the City of New York (City today). (I) My friends, we propose to continue the fight for more food and better homes.

I propose that the man who was forgotten in those olden days shall not be forgotten again. (Applause) (But) This tie-up between cities and farms is one of the chief reasons why in 1933 we sought a national solution for a national problem. We sought simultaneously to raise the farmer's cash income and to add to the working man's pay envelope. What our success has been you can prove by the simple process of putting the financial page(s) of any newspaper published in 1936 along side the financial pages of the same newspaper published in 1932. And by financial pages, I do not mean, as some of you might think, merely

the stock market quotation pages, although you will agree that they too have at least passed panic prices. By financial pages I mean the published prices of farm products and raw materials and the many reports of increased industrial earnings. And, by the way, speaking of activity, speaking of progress and a greater prosperity, every time that I come back to the City of New York I keep looking, looking for that grass that was to grow in our city streets! (Laughter, prolonged applause) (By the way, every time I come to New York I look for that grass which was to grow in the city streets!)

(But) Some individuals are never satisfied. (Laughter) People complain to me about the current costs of rebuilding America, about the burden on future generations. I tell them that whereas the deficit of the Federal Government this year is about three billion dollars, the national income of the people of the United States has risen from thirty-five billion(s) dollars in the year 1933 to sixty-five billion(s) dollars in the year 1936. (Applause) And I tell them further that the only burden we need to fear is the burden that our children would have to bear if we failed to take these measures today. (Applause)

Building national income, distributing it more

widely means not only the bettering of conditions of life, but the end of, and insurance against, individual and national deficits (tomorrow) in the days to come.

Nationwide thinking, nationwide planning and nationwide action are the three great essentials to prevent nationwide crises for future generations to struggle through.

Yes, and other individuals are never satisfied -- one of (these) then, for example, that I read about the other day, belongs to a newly organized Brain Trust -- not mine.

(Laughter) He says that the only way to get (full) complete recovery -- and I wonder if he really admits (that) we have had any recovery at all -- the only way is to lower prices by cheapening the costs of production.

Let us reduce that to plain English. You can cheapen the costs of industrial production by two methods. One is by the development of new machinery and new technique and by increasing employee efficiency. We do not (discourage) forbid that. But do not dodge the fact that this means fewer men employed and more men unemployed. The other way to reduce the costs of industrial production is to establish longer hours for the same pay or to reduce the pay for the same number of hours. If you lengthen hours you will need

fewer workers for the same output. More men out of work. If you choose lower wages for the same number of hours you out, and you do cut, the dollars in the pay envelope and automatically cut down the purchasing power of the worker himself, and equally we are against that.

Now, reduction of costs of manufacture by cutting wages or lengthening hours does not mean more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means (just) the exact opposite.

The history of (the) that period from 1929 to 1933 (period) shows that consumption of goods actually declines with a declining price level. And the reason is obvious. The reason is that in such periods the buying power of the Nation goes down faster than the prices go down.

On the other hand, if you increase buying power prices will go up but more goods will be bought. Wages ought to and must go up with prices. (This) It does not mean unsound inflation or skyrocketing prices; (this) these should be avoided just as we seek to avoid deflation and bankruptcy sale values. What we do seek are a greater purchasing power and a reasonably stable and constant price

level, and we are attaining that end. It is my belief (as) and I think it is yours as well that the industry and agriculture of America subscribe to that objective. Towards that end, representative government of every form is working. The objective cannot be obtained in a month or a year, we know that. But, my friends, results -- results proven by facts and figures show that we are on our way -- very definitely on our way. (Applause) Higher wages for workers, more income for farmers, they mean more goods produced, more and better food eaten, fewer unemployed and lower taxes. (Applause)

That is my economic and social philosophy, and, I might add, incidentally, (my) that it is my political philosophy as well. (Applause)

And finally I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is the philosophy of the (1936) America of 1936. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE
UNANIMOUS NOMINATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
June 27, 1936, 10 P.M.

Senator Robinson, Members of the Democratic Convention, my
friends:

Here and in every community throughout the land
we are (most) not at a time of great moment to the future
of the Nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the
simple and sincere expression of an attitude towards prob-
lems, the determination of which will profoundly affect
America.

I come not only as (the) a leader of a party --
not only as a candidate for high office, but as one upon
whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a
grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which
Americans have sustained me in my task I am grateful. For
their loyalty I salute the members of our great party, in
and out of (official) political life in every part of the
Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those
in the Congress of the United States who on so many

occasions have put partisanship aside. I thank the Governors of the several States, their Legislatures, their state and local officials who participated unselfishly and regardless of party in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuses. Above all I thank the millions of Americans who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through the storm. (Applause)

America will not forget these recent years -- will not forget that the rescue was not a mere party task -- it was the concern of all of us. In our strength we rose together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived. (Applause)

It was in those days, my friends, that we feared fear. That was why we fought fear. And today, my friends, we have won against the most dangerous of our foes -- we have conquered fear.

But I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill will and intolerance gather darkly in many places. In our own land we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of most nations. But the rush of modern civilization itself has raised for us new difficulties, new problems

which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom -- to give to 1936 as the founders gave to 1776 -- an American way of life.
(Applause)

(The) That very word freedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776 we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy -- from the eighteenth century royalists who held special privileges from the crown. It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power -- that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought.

That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the average man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. (Applause)

But, since that struggle, (however) man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which re-ordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution -- all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a (new) problem for those who (would) sought to remain free.

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New Kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over material things. Through new uses of corporations, banks and securities, new machinery of industry and agriculture, of labor and capital -- all undreamed of by the fathers -- the whole structure of modern life was impressed into this royal service.

There was no place among this royalty for our many thousands of small business men and merchants who sought to make a worthy use of the American system of initiative and

profit. They were no more free than the worker or the farmer. Even honest and progressive-minded men of wealth, aware of their obligation to their generation, could never know just where they fitted into this dynastic scheme of things.

And so it was natural and (perhaps) perfectly human that the privileged princes of these new economic dynasties, thirsting for power, reached out for control over government itself. They created a new despotism and wrapped it in the robes of legal sanction. In its service new mercenaries sought to regiment the people, their labor, (and) their (properties) property. And as a result the average man once more confronts the problem that faced the Minute Man of seventy-six. (Applause)

The hours men and women worked, the wages they received, the conditions of their labor -- these had passed beyond the control of the people, and were imposed by this new industrial dictatorship. The savings of the average family, the capital of the small business man, the investments set aside for old age -- other people's money -- these were tools which the new economic royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil no longer reaped the

rewards which were their right. The small measure of their gains was decreed by men in distant cities.

Throughout the Nation, opportunity was limited by monopoly. Individual initiative was crushed in the cogs of a great machine. The field open for free business was more and more restricted. Private enterprise, indeed, became too private. It became privileged enterprise, not free enterprise. (Applause)

An old English judge (once) said once upon a time: "Necessitous men are not free men." Liberty requires opportunity to make a living -- a living decent according to the standard of the time, a living which gives man not only enough to live by, but something to live for. (Applause)

For too many of us the political equality we once had won was meaningless in the face of economic inequality. A small group had concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor -- other people's lives. For too many of us life was no longer free; liberty no longer real; men could no longer follow the pursuit of happiness.

Against economic tyranny such as this, the American citizen could only appeal to the organized power of

government. (Applause) We will remember that the collapse of 1929 showed up the despotism for what it was. The election of 1932 was the people's mandate to end it. Under that mandate it is being ended. (Applause)

The royalists I have spoken of -- the royalists of the economic order have conceded that political freedom was the business of the government, but they have maintained that economic slavery was nobody's business. They granted that the government could protect the citizen in his right to vote but they denied that the government could do anything to protect the citizen in his right to work and his right to live.

Today we stand committed to the proposition that freedom is no half and half affair. If the average citizen is guaranteed equal opportunity in the polling place, he must have equal opportunity in the market place. (Applause)

(The) These economic royalists complain that we seek to overthrow the institutions of America. What they really complain of is that we seek to take away their power. Our allegiance to American institutions requires the overthrow of this kind of power. In vain they seek to hide behind the Flag and the Constitution. In their blindness

they forget what the Flag and the Constitution stand for. Now, as always, (they stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and) for over a century and a half, the Flag, the Constitution, stand against a dictatorship by mob rule and the over-privileged alike, and the Flag and the Constitution stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, but not subjection. (Applause)

The brave and clear platform adopted by this Convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster. (Applause)

But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This Convention in every word and deed has pledged that that fight will go on. (Applause)

The defeats and victories of these years have given to us as a people a new understanding of our government

-- yes, and a new understanding (and) of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meeting have the affairs of government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds, the greatest guide of all, is moral principle.
(Applause)

We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a Nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith -- in the soundness of democracy in the midst of dictatorships.

Hope -- renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

Charity -- in the true spirit of that grand old word. For charity literally translated from the original means love, the love that understands, that does not merely share the wealth of the giver, but in true sympathy and wisdom helps men to help themselves. (Applause)

We seek not merely to make government a mechanical implement, but to give it the vibrant personal character that is the very embodiment of human charity.

We are poor indeed if this Nation cannot afford to lift from every recess of American life the dread fear of the unemployed that they are not needed in the world. (Applause) We cannot afford to accumulate a deficit in the books of human fortitude. (Applause)

And so in the place of the palace of privilege we seek to build a temple out of faith and hope and charity.

It is a sobering thing, my friends, to be a servant of this great cause. We try in our daily work to remember that the cause belongs not to us but to the people. The standard is not in the hands of you and me alone. It is carried by America. (Applause) We seek, all of us I hope, we seek daily to profit from experience, to learn to do better as our task proceeds.

Governments can err -- Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted in different scales. (Applause)

Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference. (Applause)

There is a mysterious cycle in human events. To some generations much is given. Of (others) other generations much is expected. This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny. (Applause)

In this world of ours in other lands, there are some people, who, in times past, have lived and fought for freedom, and seem to have grown too weary to carry on the fight. They have sold their heritage of freedom for the illusion of a living. They have yielded their democracy.

I believe in my heart that only our success can stir their ancient hope. They begin to know that here in America we are waging a great and successful war. It is not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization. It is more than that, it is a war for the survival of democracy. We are fighting, fighting to save a great and precious form of government for ourselves and for the world.

And so I accept the commission you have tendered me. (Applause) I join with you. (Prolonged applause)
(I am enlisted for the duration of the war.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
CHAUTAUQUA, NEW YORK
August 14, 1936, 8 P.M., E.D.S.T.

Dr. Bestor, ladies and gentlemen:

I am always appreciative of that well-bred and
splendid salute.

As many of you who are here tonight know, I formed the excellent habit of coming to Chautauqua more than twenty years ago. (Applause) And it was after my Inauguration in 1933 that I promised (Mr.) Dr. Bestor that during the next four years I would come to Chautauqua again (it is in fulfillment of this that I am with you tonight) and here I am. (Applause)

A few days ago (I was asked what) some of my friends of the Press asked me the subject of this talk (would be;) tonight, and I replied that for two good reasons I wanted to discuss the subject of peace: First, because it is eminently appropriate in Chautauqua (applause) and, secondly, because in the hurly-burly of domestic politics it is important that our people should not overlook problems and issues which, though they lie beyond our borders, may, and probably will, have a vital influence on the United States of the future.

Many people who have visited me in Washington in the past few months may have been surprised when I have told them that personally and because of my own daily contacts with all manner of difficult (situations) problems I am more concerned and less cheerful about international world conditions than about our immediate domestic prospects. (Applause)

I say this to you not as a confirmed pessimist but as one who still hopes that envy, hatred and malice among nations have reached their peak and will be succeeded by a new tide of peace and good will -- I say this as one who has participated in many of the decisions of peace and war (before) during and after the World War; as one who has traveled much, (and) as one who has spent a goodly portion of every twenty-four hours in the study of foreign relations.

Long before I returned to Washington as President of the United States, I had made up my mind that pending what might be called a more opportune (moment) time on other continents, the United States could best serve the cause of a peaceful humanity by setting an example. (Applause) And that (was) is why on the 4th of March, 1933, I made

the following declaration:

"In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor -- the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and because he does so, respects the rights of others -- the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

(This) That declaration (represents) represented my purpose then, it represents my purpose now, but it represents more than a purpose now, for it stands for a practice. To a measurable degree (it) the practice has succeeded; and the whole world now knows that the United States cherishes no predatory ambitions. (Applause) We are strong: but less powerful nations know that they need not fear our strength. We seek no conquest: we stand for peace. (Applause)

In the whole of the western hemisphere our good neighbor policy has produced results that are especially heartening.

The noblest monument to peace, (and to neighborly) the noblest monument to economic and social friendship in

all the world is not a monument on bronze or stone, (but) it is the boundary which unites the United States and Canada -- 3000 miles of friendship with no barbed wire, no gun, (or) no soldier, and no passports on the whole frontier. (Prolonged applause)

What made it?

Mutual trust (made that frontier) -- to extend the same sort of mutual trust throughout the Americas was our aim.

The American Republics to the south of us have been ready always to cooperate with the United States on a basis of equality and mutual respect, but before we inaugurated the good neighbor policy there was among them resentment and fear, because certain administrations in Washington had slighted their national pride and their sovereign rights.

In pursuance of the good neighbor policy, and because in my younger days I had learned many lessons in the hard school of experience, I stated that the United States was opposed definitely to armed intervention. (Applause)

And so, in those four years, we have negotiated

a Pan-American Convention embodying the principle of non-intervention. We have abandoned the Platt Amendment which gave us the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cuba. We have withdrawn American Marines from Haiti. We have signed a new Treaty which places our relations with Panama on a mutually satisfactory basis. We have undertaken a series of trade agreements with other American countries to our mutual commercial profit. And finally, at the request of two neighboring Republics, I hope to give assistance in the final settlement of the last serious boundary dispute between any of the American nations. (Applause)

Yes, throughout the Americas the spirit of the good neighbor is a practical and living fact. The twenty-one American Republics are not only living together in friendship and in peace; they are united in the determination so to remain.

To give substance to this determination a conference will meet on December 1 (1936) of this year at the Capitol of our great southern neighbor, Argentine, and it is, I know, the hope of all Chiefs of State of

the Americas that this will result in measures which will banish wars forever from this vast portion of the earth. (Applause)

I have always thought that peace, like charity, begins at home; (Laughter, applause) that is why we have begun at home, here in North, South and Central America. But peace in the western world is not all (that) we seek.

It is our hope that knowledge of the practical application of the good neighbor policy in this hemisphere will be borne home to our neighbors across the seas.

For ourselves we are on good terms with them - terms in most cases of straightforward friendship, (of) and peaceful understanding.

But, of necessity, we are deeply concerned about tendencies of recent years among many of the nations of other continents. It is a bitter experience to us when the spirit of agreements to which we are a party is not lived up to. It is an even more bitter experience for the whole company of nations to witness not only the spirit but the letter of international

agreements violated with impunity and without regard to the simple principles of honor. Permanent friendships (between) among nations as between men can be sustained only by scrupulous respect for the pledged word. (Applause)

In spite of all this we have sought steadfastly to assist international movements to prevent war. We cooperated to the bitter end -- and it was a bitter end -- in the work of the General Disarmament Conference. When it failed we sought a separate treaty to deal with the manufacture of arms and the international traffic in arms. That proposal also came to (nothing) nought. We participated -- again to the bitter end -- in a conference to continue Naval limitations, and when it became evident that no general treaty could be signed because of the objections of other nations, we concluded with Great Britain and France a conditional treaty of qualitative limitation which, much to my regret, already shows signs of ineffectiveness.

We shun political commitments which might entangle us in foreign wars; we avoid connection with the political activities of the League of Nations; but

I am glad to say that we have cooperated wholeheartedly in the social and humanitarian work at Geneva. Thus we are a part of the world effort to control traffic in narcotics, to improve international health, to help child welfare, to eliminate double taxation and to better working conditions and laboring hours throughout the world.

No, we are not isolationists except insofar as we seek to isolate ourselves (completely) from war. (Applause) Yet we must remember that so long as war exists on earth there will be some danger (that) even to the nation which most ardently desires peace, danger that it also may be drawn into war.

I have seen war. I have seen war on land and sea. I have seen blood running from the wounded. I have seen men coughing out their gassed lungs. I have seen the dead in the mud. I have seen cities destroyed. I have seen two hundred limping, exhausted men come out of line -- the survivors of a regiment of one thousand that went forward forth-eight hours before. I have seen children starving. I have seen the agony of mothers and wives. I hate war. (Prolonged applause, cheers)

Yes, I have passed unnumbered hours and I shall pass unnumbered hours thinking and planning how war may be kept from (this Nation) the United States of America.

I wish I could keep war from all nations; but that is beyond my power. I can at least make certain that no act of the United States helps to produce or to promote war. I can at least make clear that the conscience of America revolts against war and that any nation which provokes war forfeits the sympathy of the people of the United States. (Prolonged applause)

There are many causes that produce war. There are ancient hatreds, turbulent frontiers, the "legacy of old forgotten, far off things, and battles long ago." There are new-born fanaticisms, convictions on the part of certain peoples that they have become the unique depositories of ultimate truth and right.

A dark old world was devastated by wars between conflicting religions. A dark modern world faces

were between conflicting economic and political fanaticisms in which are intertwined race hatreds. To bring it home to us, it is as if within the territorial limits of the United States, forty-eight nations with forty-eight forms of government, forty-eight customs barriers, forty-eight languages and 48 eternal and different verities, were spending their time and their substance in a frenzy of effort to make themselves strong enough to conquer their neighbors or strong enough to defend themselves against their neighbors.

In one field, that of economic barriers, the American policy may be, I hope, of some assistance in discouraging the economic source of war and therefore a contribution towards the peace of the world. The trade agreements which we are making are not only finding outlets for the products of American fields and American factories but are also pointing the way to the elimination of embargoes, quotas and other devices which place such pressure on nations not possessing great natural resources that to (them) these nations the price of peace sometimes seems less terrible than

the price of war.

We do not maintain that a more liberal international trade will stop war but we do fear that without a more liberal international trade, war is a natural sequence.

The Congress of the United States, as you know, has given me certain authority to provide safeguards of American neutrality in case of war.

The President of the United States, who, under our Constitution, is vested with primary authority to conduct our international relations, thus has been given new weapons with which to maintain our neutrality.

Nevertheless -- and I speak from a long experience -- the effective maintenance of American neutrality depends today, as in the past, on the wisdom and determination of whoever at the moment occupy the offices of President and Secretary of State.

It is clear that our present policy and the measures passed by the Congress would in the event of a war on some other continent, reduce war profits which would otherwise accrue to American citizens. Industrial and agricultural production for a war market may give

immense fortunes to a few (men); but for the nation as a whole we know that it produces disaster. It was the prospect of war profits that made our farmers in the west plow up prairie land that (should) ought never to have been plowed, but should have been left for grazing cattle. And today we are reaping the harvest of those war profits in the dust storms which have devastated those war plowed (areas) fields.

It was the prospect of war profits that caused the extension of monopoly and unjustified expansion of industry and a price level so high that the normal relationships between debtor and creditor was destroyed.

Nevertheless, if war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches -- fools' gold -- would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality. (Governor Lehman entered at this point and there was applause for him.)

They would tell you -- and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity, by methods that you can understand as readily as I do -- that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other

article to belligerent nations, the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.

My friends, it would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond -- to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love peace. (Applause)

And so if we face the choice of profits or peace, (the) this Nation will answer -- this Nation must answer -- "we choose peace." (Applause) And it is the duty of all of us, each and every one of us, men, women and children, to encourage such a body of public opinion (in this country) throughout this Nation that the answer will be clear and for all practical purposes unanimous.

With that wise and experienced man who is our Secretary of State, whose statesmanship has met with such wide

approval, I have thought and worked long and hard on the problem of keeping the United States at peace. But all the wisdom of America is not to be found in the White House or (in) the Department of State; we need the meditation, we need the prayer, and we need the positive support of the people of America who go along with us in seeking peace. (Applause)

No matter how well we are supported by neutrality (legislation) laws, we must remember that no laws can be provided to cover every contingency, for it is impossible to imagine how every future event may shape itself. In spite of every possible forethought, international relations involve of necessity a vast uncharted area. In that area safe sailing will depend on the knowledge and the experience and the wisdom of those who direct our foreign policy. Peace will depend on their day to day decisions.

At this late date, many years after, with the wisdom which is so easy after the event and so difficult before the event, we find it possible to trace the tragic series of small decisions which led Europe into the great war in 1914 and eventually engulfed us and many other nations.

We can keep out of war if those who watch and decide have a sufficiently detailed understanding of international affairs to make certain that the small decisions of each day do not lead toward war and if, at the same time, they possess the courage to say "no" to those who selfishly or unwisely would (let us go to) get us into war. (Applause, prolonged)

Of all the nations (of) in the world today we are in many ways most singularly blessed. Our closest neighbors are good neighbors. If there are remoter nations that wish us not good but ill, they know that we are strong; they know that we can and will defend ourselves and defend our neighborhood. (Applause)

They know we seek to dominate no other nation, that we ask no territorial expansion, that we oppose imperialism, and that we desire reduction in world armaments.

We believe in democracy; (applause) we believe in freedom; we believe in peace. We offer to every nation of the world the handshake of the good neighbor. Let those who wish our friendship look us in the eye and take our hand. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AKSARBEN COLISEUM, OMAHA, NEBRASKA
October 10, 1936, about 7.30 P.M.

(Mrs. Gilbert M. Hitchcock introduced the
President.)

Mrs. Hitchcock, Governor Cochran, Mr. Mayor, you my
friends of Nebraska and neighboring States:

I am glad to come back to Nebraska after an absence
of only a few weeks, and I am especially glad to come
for the first time to this marvelous Aksarben Coliseum
and to receive your greetings. (Applause)

First of all a word to you as Nebraskans. I hope (it)
that this word will be heard by the citizens of the other
forty-seven States because I know that what I am going to
say represents the conviction of the great majority of those
who are devoted to good government, clean government, repre-
sentative government. (Applause)

On this platform sits a man whose reputation for many
years has been known in every community -- a man old in
years but young in heart -- a man who through all these
years has had no boss but his own conscience -- the Senior
Senator from the State of Nebraska, given to the Nation by
the people of Nebraska -- George W. Norris. (Applause)

Outside of my own State of New York, I have consistently
refrained from taking part in elections in any other State.

But Senator Norris' name has been entered as a candidate for Senator from Nebraska. And to my rule of non-participation in State elections I have made -- and so long as he lives I always will make -- one magnificently justified exception. (Applause)

George Norris' candidacy transcends State and party lines. In our national history we have had few elder statesmen who like him have preserved the aspirations of youth as they accumulated the wisdom of years.

He is one of the major prophets of America.

My friends, help this great American to continue an historic career of service.

Nebraska will be doing a great service, not only to itself but to every other State in the Union and to the Nation as a whole if it places this great American above partisanship and keeps George Norris in the Senate of the United States. (Prolonged applause)

(In) I want to take you back four years, four years to 1932. In that year, when I was a candidate for the presidency, I pledged my administration, if elected, to a farm policy that would help the farmer. And tonight every man and woman on an American farm, East or West, who has read today's market reports knows that we have done what we said we would do. (Applause)

What needed to be done?

You (know) remember that in March, 1933, after twelve

(lean) long years, farm income was disappearing and farm prices had sunk to a bankruptcy level.

In 1932 America's farm population was the greatest in our history, (but) and yet the farmers' income was the lowest for the quarter century for which we have records. Farmers represented twenty-five per cent of the Nation's population -- but they got only 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the national income.

The spectre of foreclosure stalked the farmer's plow.

American agriculture was on the road to pauperism.

When the World War ended, the nations of Europe whom we had been feeding went back to farming for themselves. Our farmers were left holding the bag -- a bag that bulged with vast quantities of wheat, and corn and cotton for which the market had (disappeared) collapsed.

That was the farmer's plight. What did Republican leadership do about it?

The best that it could offer was a contraption called the Farm Board, (The Farm Board) -- a contraption that set an all-time (low) high for extravagant futility. It met the problem of unsaleable and unexportable surpluses by piling up bigger surpluses.

To finish the job, the Republican Smoot-Hawley tariff robbed the farmer of his last chance for a foreign market.

We found that this conspicuous failure of government to help the farmer had created -- by March 4, 1933 -- a state of mind in the Nation itself which, (itself), seemed

to bar (the) any way out of the farmer's difficulties. There was a defeatist attitude -- a conviction that the farmer could not be helped -- that all efforts were foredoomed to failure -- that any party which dared to substitute action for talk would get its political fingers burned.

Along with this defeatism there was the belief that money spent on the farm problem was money wasted -- that the only excuse for spending it was to keep the farmer in line -- in order to buy political peace.

Yes, that was what happened to American agriculture when this Administration came into office.

That was the debris of twelve years of failure which we had to clear away before we could begin to lay the basis for a permanent agricultural prosperity.

Tonight you know that the ground has been cleared of that debris. After twelve years in which he had been harrassed and weighed down by the burdens of each succeeding day, the farmer at last has begun to get into the clear, so that he can begin again to take thought for tomorrow.

Back of what we did was the conviction that the agricultural problem is not a problem for the farmer alone -- that it is a problem for the Nation as a whole. That is the way we attacked it.

And today the Nation is (now) going along with the farmer. Now, for the first time in this industrial period

of our history the American people understand that there is a definite bond between agriculture and industry -- that the money we have used for the restoration of American agriculture has been an investment in the restoration of American industry, an underwriting for the wages of American labor, a stimulus for profits in American business.

In other words, the defeatist attitude has (at last) itself been defeated. (Applause)

Back of what we did was a second conviction -- that a sound farm policy must be a policy run by farmers. Ours is that kind of (a) policy. The farmers of America moved into the Department of Agriculture on the day that Henry Wallace set up shop there. (Applause) And for the very first time, a national farm program was made in conference and with (the) agreement of the farm leaders of all our farm organizations -- a program, get this, a program which came out of the free and open councils of farmers rather than out of the vote-catching schemes of politicians. (Applause)

With these convictions, this Administration put its hand to the plow. It has not turned and it will not turn back. (Applause)

I am going to tell you in just seven sentences what we did. Every man and woman in America, every man and woman on an American farm can expand (those) these seven sentences in terms of the recovery that has come to each of them in the last three and a half years.

(1.) First, by our agricultural adjustment act, our monetary policy, our soil conservation (program) policy, and our assistance to farm cooperatives, we have raised the farmers' net annual income by three and a half billion dollars to a sum three times what it was in 1932. (Applause)

(2.) Second, through the Farm Credit Administration we have saved thousands of homes and farms from foreclosure and reduced the staggering burden of the farmers' debts. (Applause)

(3.) Third, through reciprocal trade treaties and inter-national currency stabilization, we have begun to recover the farmers' foreign markets in the only way in which they can be recovered and held -- by a policy of mutual (international) advantage, mutual international advantage which today is bearing fruit in the reopening of markets for American farm products in all of the fourteen countries making these agreements -- by a policy which, for example, within the last ten days has brought about lower tariffs in France, Italy and Switzerland (to) for the benefit of our farmers. And, my friends, a growing trade is making for international peace. (Prolonged applause)

(4.) Fourth, by our program to revive business -- to increase employment -- to raise business and professional incomes and the wages of labor -- and by increasing the purchasing power and consumption of the average American

family -- we have restored national income, and prepared the way for the steady and long-time expansion of the farmers' home market. (Applause)

(5.) Fifth, by our program of land use and conservation we have ended the policy of immediate glut and eventual waste, and have laid the basis for a permanent plenty. (Applause)

(6.) Sixth, by our program of rural electrification, and you people of Nebraska know what we are doing in this State (applause) -- by our farm-to-market roads -- by our aid to rural schools, (applause) we have begun to get for the farmer his fair share in the comforts, the advantages, the wider interests and the deeper satisfactions which go to make the good life for himself and for his children. (Applause)

(7.) And seventh, when disastrous drought struck the land in many parts of our country, we rushed immediate and direct relief to the farmers and stockmen to save them from want -- a policy that some people call waste -- but that you and I call wise. (Applause)

There, my friends, is the record. In those seven sentences, the farmer and the farmer's family can measure, for themselves, the vast difference between the desperation which was theirs in the Spring of 1933 and the recovery which is theirs in 1936. From what that record has done and is doing for you -- judge for yourselves our determination

and our capacity to carry this program through.

After having neglected a twelve-year opportunity for help to the American farmer, as his condition got worse and worse, what does Republican leadership now offer? (Applause)

First of all, it would scrap the present program, which it has condemned as a "subterfuge" and a "stop-gap". It would junk the farmers' organization to carry it out. It would end the farmers' program of cooperation, and send them back to the "free competition" -- (or) and the "rugged individualism" if you will -- that wrecked them in 1932. (Applause)

And then, next, it would substitute a system of tariff equivalent payments, I think they are called, not for any permanent contribution to farm wealth or national income, but merely as a cash hand-out -- (or) in other words, a dole. These payments, under their plan, would be made only to the producers of exportable farm crops -- specifically on hogs, wheat, cotton and tobacco.

But dairymen, cattlemen, sugar growers and producers of all the hundred other varieties of crops (of) in which there normally is no exportable surplus would be left out. (Applause)

What about the effect of such a scheme? Would it serve to protect farmers from price collapse under a burden of surpluses? Would it guard them in the future against a

disaster like 1932?

No plan could lead the Nation back faster to such a crisis.

The proposed plan of the Republican leaders is a straight subsidy of unlimited farm production. In a year or two of normal weather, it would pile surplus on top of surplus, driving prices down and down and down. It is the Federal Farm Board all over again and it is 9 cents for corn as it was in 1932. (Applause)

And finally, to make the parallel with 1932 more letter perfect, the Republican leaders now propose to repeal the reciprocal tariff act, and go back to the old Smoot-Hawley tariff policy. Once again, as in 1932, the farmers would have price-crushing surpluses at home, and no place (abroad to sell them) to sell abroad.

And what about the cost? It would run to one and a half and even possibly two billion dollars every year. This vast sum would be spent not to save agriculture but to wreck it and with it the Nation. (Applause)

And remember, my friends, that either this plan which they advocate in the West, or the curtailment of expenditures that they talk about in the East, would have to be discarded. Both promises cannot possibly be carried out at the same time. (Applause)

For the first time in many cruel years, we are getting the (problem of the) business of farming well in hand. Do

you now want to turn over that problem to the care of those who did nothing about it in the past? Do you want to turn it over to those who now make inconsistent, campaign-devised, half-baked promises -- (audience: "No") (which you) and they know they cannot keep them!

It has been said that the Administration's farm program changes each year like new models of automobiles. I accept that simile. (Laughter) The automobile of today is the same kind of a vehicle, in principle, as it was twenty years ago. But because the automobile manufacturer backed by the public, did not hesitate to pioneer -- because he was willing to make yearly changes in his model -- the Nation now drives a car that is vastly improved. (Farming too is the same in principle now as it has always been.) But because the farmer has been willing to pioneer -- because, with the aid of scientists, economists and engineers he has been willing, year after year, to change -- because of these things both the product of the farms and the business of farming have been vastly improved. It is the aim of our policy not only to prevent the return of yesterday's model but to make tomorrow's model better than today's. (Applause) Good as it was (for its day) in the old days, we have passed beyond Model T farming. (Applause)

Our long-time policy of prudence and farm progress includes a program of conservation against land wastage and soil impoverishment. From the beginning, such a program

has been basic in our plans. On October 25, (1933) 1935, months before the action of the Supreme Court on the Triple A, I said publicly that it was the intention of the farmers of that act as it was my intention: "to pass from the purely emergency phases necessitated by a grave national crisis to a long-time more permanent plan for American agriculture." (Applause)

We knew that our soil had been recklessly impoverished by crops which did not pay. Because we stand committed to a philosophy of continuous plenty we have set ourselves resolutely against waste -- waste that comes from unneeded production, waste that imperils the Nation's future by draining away the abundance with which God has enriched our soil.

Increasing production alone in an unlimited way appeals to no person who thinks the problem through. Increasing consumption must go hand in hand with it. Here is a simple figure to mull over. If every family in the United States had enough money, had enough earning capacity, to live on what the doctors and dietitians call a "Class A Diet", we would need foostuffs from forty-five million acres more than we are using today. America's diet is better than that of most other nations, but from the point of view of better national health, it is still inadequate. I seek to increase purchasing power so that people can pay for more food and better food, and in turn provide a larger and larger domestic

market for the farmer.

It is a further part of our long-time farm policy to attack the evil of farm tenancy. In this we have already made a good beginning with lower interest rates and better prices. We are preparing legislation, in co-operation with farm leaders, to submit to the Congress in January to help solve this problem. We cannot, as a Nation, be content until we have reached the ultimate objective of every farm family owning its own farm. (Applause)

Further -- we propose to give to the farmer and to the consumer -- a sound plan of crop insurance in kind against extreme fluctuations of supply and of price. No one wins from such fluctuations (but) except the speculator. The farmer and the consumer lose together. (Applause)

That is why crop insurance is a protection for both. For the farmer and consumer as well, at one and the same time it banishes the consumer's fear of a food shortage and the farmer's fear of a food surplus. Until both are protected, neither is safe. The ultimate interests of the farmer and the consumer of America are the same. (Applause)

And that, my friends, is why I am not making one kind of a speech to the farmers out here and another kind of speech to consumers in the big cities of the East. (Prolonged applause) The same speech and the same policy must go for both. (Applause)

It took a lot of education in these last few years but the city dweller has come to know that unless the farmer receives fair prices for what he produces, he cannot buy the things that are turned out in the shops and factories of the cities.

And so we plan for the future of agriculture -- security for those who have spent their lives in farming; opportunity for real careers for young men and women on the farms -- a share for farmers in the good things of life abundant enough to (justify) satisfy and preserve our instinctive faith in the land.

In all our plans we are guided, and will continue to be guided, by the fundamental belief that the American farmer, living on his own land, remains our ideal of self-reliance and of spiritual balance. (Applause) He is the source from which the reservoirs of the Nation's strength are constantly renewed. It is from the men and women of our farms -- living close to the soil, that this Nation -- like the Greek giant Antaeus touches Mother Earth and rises with strength renewed a hundred-fold.

We want to perpetuate that ideal, we want to perpetuate it under modern conditions, so that man may be strong in the ancient virtues and yet lay hold of the advantages which science and new knowledge offer to a well-rounded life.
(Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

October 14, 1936, 9.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mayor Kelly.)

Mr. Chairman, Governor Horner, Mayor Kelly, my friends
of the great State of Illinois:

I seem to have been here before. (Applause)

Four years ago I dropped into this city from the airways -- an old friend come in a new way -- to accept in this hall the nomination for the Presidency of the United States. I came to a Chicago fighting with its back to the wall -- factories closed, markets silent, banks shaky, ships and trains empty. Today those factories sing the song of industry -- markets hum with bustling movement, banks are secure; ships and trains are running full. (Applause) Once again it is a Chicago (as Carl Sandberg saw it -- "The City of the big shoulders" -- the city) that smiles. And with Chicago a whole nation that had not been cheerful for years is full of cheer once more. (Applause)

On this trip (through the Nation) I have talked to farmers, I have talked to miners, I have talked to industrial workers -- and in all that I have seen and heard one fact has been (as) clear as crystal -- that they are part and parcel of a rounded whole, and that none of them can succeed

in their chosen occupations if those in the other occupations fall or fail in their prosperity. I have driven (home) that point home.

And tonight, in this center of business of America, I give the same message to the business men of America -- to those who make and sell the processed goods the Nation uses and to the men and women who work for them.

To them I say:

Do you have a deposit in the bank? It is safer today than it has ever been in our history. It is guaranteed. Last October first marked the end of the first full year in 55 years without a single failure of a national bank in the United States. Isn't that on the credit side of the government's account with you? (Applause)

Are you an investor? Your stocks and bonds are up to a five and six year high level (levels).

Are you a merchant? Your markets have the precious life-blood of purchasing power. Your customers on the farms have better incomes and smaller debts. Your customers in the cities have more jobs, surer jobs, better jobs. Didn't your government have something to do with (that) this? (Applause)

Are you in industry? Industrial earnings, industrial profits are the highest in four, six, or even seven years! Bankruptcies are at a new low. Your government takes some credit for that. (Applause)

Are you in railroads? Freight loadings are steadily going up and so are passenger receipts (are steadily going up -- have in some cases doubled --) because, for one reason, your government made the railroads cut rates and make money.

Are you a middleman in the great stream of farm products? The meat and grain that move through your yards and elevators have a steadier supply, a steadier demand and steadier prices than you have known for years. And your government is trying to keep it that way. (Applause)

Now, my friends, some people say that all this recovery has just happened. (Laughter) But in a complicated modern world recoveries from depressions do not just happen. The years from 1929 to 1933 when we waited for recovery just to happen, proves the point.

But in 1933, after March 4th, we did not wait -- we acted. Behind the growing recovery of today is a story of deliberate government acceptance of responsibility to save business -- to save the American system of private enterprise and economic democracy -- a record unequalled by any modern government in history.

What had the previous administration in Washington done for four years? Exactly nothing. (Jeers) Why? For a very fundamental reason. That Administration was not industrially-minded -- nor agriculturally-minded -- nor business-minded. It was high-finance-minded -- (applause) manned and controlled by a handful of men who in turn controlled, and by one financial

device or another took their toll from the greater part of all other business and industry.

Let me make one simple statement. When I refer to high finance I am not talking about all great bankers, or all great corporation executives, or all multimillionaires -- any more than Theodore Roosevelt, in using the term "malefactors of great wealth" implied that all men of great wealth were "malefactors." I do not even imply that the majority of them are bad citizens. The opposite is true.

Just in the same way, the overwhelming majority of businessmen in this country are good citizens and the proportion of those who are not is probably about the same proportion as in the other occupations and professions of life. (Applause)

So when I am speaking of high finance as a harmful factor in recent years, I am speaking about a minority which includes the type of individual who speculates with other people's money -- and you in Chicago know the kind I refer to (applause) -- and I refer also to the type of individual who says that popular government cannot be trusted and that, therefore, that the control of business of all kinds -- and, indeed, of Government itself -- should be vested in the hands of one hundred or two hundred all-wise individuals controlling the purse-strings of the Nation.

High finance of this type refused to permit government credit to go directly to the industrialist, to the businessman, to the home-owner, to the farmer. They wanted it to trickle

down from the top, through the intricate arrangements which they controlled and by which they were able to levy tribute on every business in the land.

They did not want interest rates to be reduced by the use of government funds -- for that would affect the rate of interest which they themselves wanted to charge. They did not want government supervision over financial (markets) exchanges through which they manipulated their monopolies with other people's money.

And in the face of their demands that government do nothing that they called "unsound", the government in those days, hypnotized by its indebtedness to them, stood by and let the depression drive industry and business towards bankruptcy. (Applause)

Now, my friends, we have discovered something in the last three and a half years. We have discovered that America is an economic unit. New means and methods of transportation and communications have made us economically as well as politically a single nation. Let me cite an example. Because kidnappers and bank robbers could in (a) high-powered cars speed across state lines it became necessary, in order to protect our people, to invoke the power of the Federal Government. (Applause)

In the same way speculators and manipulators from across State lines and regardless of State laws, have lured the unsuspecting and the unwary to financial destruction. In the

same way across State lines, there have been built up intricate corporate structures, piling bond upon stock and stock upon bond -- huge monopolies which were stifling independent business and private enterprise. (Applause)

There was no power under Heaven that could protect the people against that sort of thing except a people's government at Washington. All that this Administration has done, all that it proposes to do -- and this it does propose to do -- is to use every power and authority of the Federal Government to protect the commerce of America from the selfish forces which ruined it. (Applause)

Always, month in and month out, during these three and a half years, your Government has had but one sign on its desk -- "Seek only the greater good of the greater number of Americans." And in appraising the record, remember two things. First, this Administration was called upon to act after a previous Administration and all the combined forces of private enterprise had failed. Secondly, in spite of all the demand for speed, the complexity of the problem and all the vast sums of money involved, we have had no Teapot Dome. (Applause)

We found when we came to Washington in 1933, that the business and industry of the Nation were like a train which had gone off the rails into (a) the ditch. Our first job was to get it out of the ditch and start it up the track again as far as the repair shops. Our next job was to

repair it -- to repair the broken axles (which) that had got (gotten) it off the road, the engine which had been worn down by gross misuse.

What was it that the average businessman wanted Government to do for him -- to do immediately in 1933?

Five things: 1. Stop inflation and falling prices -- and we did it. (Applause)

2. Increase the purchasing power of his (customers) consumers who were industrial workers in the cities -- and we did it. (Applause.

3. Increase the purchasing power of his customers on the farms -- and we did it. (Applause)

4. Decrease interest rates, power rates and transportation rates -- and we did it. (Applause)

5. Protect him from (the) losses due to crime, bank robbers, kidnappers and blackmailers -- and we (did it) have done it.

How did we do it? By a sound monetary policy which raised prices. By reorganizing the banks of the Nation and insuring their deposits. By bringing the businessmen of the Nation together and encouraging them to pay higher wages, to shorten working hours, and to discourage that minority among their own members who were engaging in unfair competition and unethical business practices.

Through the AAA, through our cattle-buying program, through our program of drought relief and flood relief,

through the Farm Credit Administration, we raised the income of the customers of business who lived on the farms. By our program to provide work for the unemployed, by our CCC camps, and other measures, greater purchasing power was given to those who lived in our cities.

Money began going round again. The dollars paid out by government were spent in the stores and shops of the Nation; and spent again to the wholesaler; and spent again to the factory; and spent again to the wage earner; and then spent again in another store and shop. The wheels of business began to turn again; the train was back on the rails. (Applause)

And mind you, (it) that did not get out of the ditch itself, it was (hailed) pulled out by (your) the Government. (Applause)

And we hauled it along the road. PWA, WPA, both provided normal and useful employment for hundreds of thousands of workers. Hundreds of millions of dollars got into circulation when we liquidated the assets of closed banks through the (Reconstruction Finance Corporation) R.F.C.

Millions more when we loaned money for home building and home financing through the Federal Housing program. Hundreds of millions more in loans and grants to enable municipalities to build needed improvements. Hundreds of millions more through the CCC camps. (Applause)

I am not going to talk tonight about how much our program to provide work for the unemployed has meant to the

Nation as a whole. That cannot be measured in dollars and cents. It can be measured only in terms of the preservation of the families of America.

But so far as business goes, it can be measured in terms of sales made and goods moving.

The train of American business is moving ahead.

(But) You people know what I mean when I say it was clear that if the train is to run smoothly again the cars will have to be loaded more evenly. (Applause) We have made a definite start in getting the train loaded more evenly, in order that axles may not break again.

For example, we have provided a sounder and cheaper money market and a sound banking and securities system. You business men know how much legitimate business you lost in the old days because your customers were robbed by fake securities or impoverished by shaky banks. (Applause)

By our monetary policy we have kept prices up and lightened the burden of debt. It is easier to get credit. It is easier to repay what you have borrowed.

We have encouraged cheaper power for the small factory owner to lower his cost of production.

We have given the business man cheaper transportation rates.

But above all, we have fought to break the deadly grip which monopoly has in the past been able to fasten on the business of the nation.

Because we cherished our system of private property and free enterprise and were determined to preserve it as the foundation of our traditional American system, we recalled the warning of Thomas Jefferson that "widespread poverty and concentrated wealth cannot long endure side by side in a democracy."

And so our job was to preserve the American ideal of economic as well as political democracy, against the abuse of concentration of economic power that had been insidiously growing up among us in the last fifty years, particularly during the twelve years of preceding Administrations. Free economic enterprise was being weeded out at an alarming pace.

During those years of false prosperity (and during the more recent years of exhausting depression) one business after another, one small corporation after another, their resources depleted, had failed or had fallen into the lap of a bigger competitor.

A dangerous thing was happening. More than half of the (industrial) corporate wealth of the country had come under the control of less than two hundred (huge) big corporations. That is not all. These huge corporations in some cases did not even try to compete with each other. They themselves were tied together by interlocking directors, interlocking bankers and interlocking lawyers. (Applause)

This concentration of wealth and power has been built upon other people's money, other people's business, other people's labor. Under this concentration independent business was allowed to exist only by sufferance. It has been a menace to the social system as well as the economic system which we call American Democracy. (Applause)

As a matter of practical fact, there is no excuse for it in the cold terms of industrial efficiency.

There is no excuse for it from the point of view of the average investor.

There is no excuse for it from the point of view of the independent business man.

I believe, I have always believed, and I (will) always will believe in private enterprise as the backbone of economic well-being in (America) the United States. (Applause)

But I know, and you know, and every independent business man who has had to struggle against the competition of monopolies knows, that this concentration of economic power in all-embracing corporations does not represent private enterprise as we Americans cherish it and propose to foster it. On the contrary, it represents private enterprise which has become a kind of private government (which) and is a power unto itself -- a regimentation of other people's money and other people's lives. (Applause)

Back in Kansas I spoke about bogey-men and fairy tales which the real Republican leaders, many of whom are part of

this concentrated power, are using to spread fear among the American people.

You good people have heard about these fairy tales and bogey-men too. (Applause) You have heard about how antagonistic to business this Administration is (said) supposed to be. You have heard all about the dangers which the business of America is supposed to be facing if this Administration continues.

My friends, the answer to that is the record of what we have done. (Applause) It was this Administration which saved the system of private profit and free enterprise after it had been dragged to the brink of ruin by these same leaders who now try to scare you. (Applause)

Look at the advance in private business in the last three and a half years; and read there what we think about private business.

Today for the first time in seven years the banker, the storekeeper, the small factory owner, the industrialist, can all sit back and enjoy the company of their own ledgers. (Applause) They are in the black. That is where we want them to be; that is where our policies aim (them to be) that they shall be; that is where we intend them to be in the (future) days to come.

Some of these people really forget how sick they were. But I know how sick they were. (Applause) I have their fever charts. (Laughter, applause) I know how the knees

of all of our rugged individualists were trembling four years ago and how their hearts fluttered. (Laughter) They came to Washington in great numbers. Washington did not look like a dangerous bureaucracy to them then. (Applause) (Oh!) No, it looked like an emergency hospital. (Applause, laughter) And all of (the) these distinguished patients wanted two things -- a quick hypodermic to end the pain (laughter) and they wanted a course of treatment to cure the disease. They wanted them in a hurry, and we gave them both. (Applause, laughter) And now, my friends, most of the patients seem to be doing very nicely. Some of them are even well enough to throw their crutches at the doctor. (Laughter, applause)

(The struggle against private monopoly is a struggle for, and not against, American business. It is a struggle to preserve individual enterprise and economic freedom.)

I believe in individualism. I believe in it in the arts, the sciences and professions. I believe in it in business. I believe in individualism in all (of) these things -- up to the point where the individualist starts to operate at the expense of society. And the overwhelming majority of American business men do not believe in it beyond that point. We have all suffered in the past from individualism run wild -- society has suffered and business has suffered.

And so, believing in the solvency of business, the solvency of farmers and the solvency of workers, I believe also in the solvency of Government. Your Government is solvent.

The net Federal debt today is lower in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than it was on March 4, 1933. ("Right", applause.)

And in the future it will become lower still because with the rising tide of national income and national wealth, the very causes of our emergency spending are (disappearing) starting to disappear. Government expenditures are coming down and government income is going up. (Applause) And so, my friends, the opportunities for private enterprise will continue to expand.

The people of America have no quarrel with business. They insist only that the power of concentrated wealth shall not be abused.

We have come through a hard struggle to preserve democracy in America. Where other nations in other parts of the world have lost that fight, we have won it.

The businessmen of America and all other citizens have joined in a firm resolve to hold the fruits of that victory -- to cling to the old ideals, (and) to cling to the old fundamentals upon which America has grown great. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION
OF THE NEW CHEMISTRY BUILDING
HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 26, 1936, 5.00 P.M.

Mr. Secretary, President Johnson, ladies and gentlemen:

I am proud and happy on behalf of the United States of America to dedicate this building. (Applause) And I have been greatly interested in learning a moment ago from the Chairman of the Executive Committee that the origin of Howard University was in a house of prayer. (Applause)

I have a special interest in Howard (University) for one reason, because the Government of the United States has long had a special relationship to this institution.

Since 1879 Congress has made continuous and increasing appropriation year by year to help meet the general expenses of the University and its various departments -- and to provide new buildings. And in part at least the Department of the Interior shares in the responsibility for the administration of the University. In a very real sense, therefore, Howard is one of the Nation's institutions. (Applause)

But I would be interested in this University even though the Government had no such relationship to it. (Applause)

Its founding, many years ago, as an institution for the American Negro was a significant occasion. It typified

America's faith in the ability of man to respond to opportunity regardless of race, or creed or color. (Applause)

The American Negro's response to this opportunity in the field of higher learning has been prompt and eager as in other fields. In 1867 at the first term (of Howard University) ninety-four students enrolled. Today there are nearly two thousand students on the lists.

Howard University has (not only) grown not only (steadily) in numbers, but it has grown also steadily in the range of its courses. To provide equal opportunities for Negro men and women, the University offers instruction in its colleges of liberal arts, medicine, dentistry, (and) pharmacy and in the schools of law, engineering, architecture and music. A graduate school, recently organized, attracts graduates of other colleges and universities and has helped to make Howard (University) a real center of Negro culture in America. (Applause)

(Howard) With justification you may take pride in its high standards of scholarship among other American universities. Its schools of law and medicine, for instance, are I am told rated among the Class-A schools in the whole of the United States. (Nation)

Despite the constant raising of the scholastic standards of the University, as the years went by, the demand for higher training, higher education among our Negro citizens

has increased to an extent which has created a strain upon its facilities.

And so the Federal Government has provided three new structures for it at this time, and there are more to come. (Applause) These structures, this building program, represent the happy conjunction of two important Federal Government programs to meet the difficulties of the depression. They are a part of our nation-wide projects to reduce unemployment by building useful public works. They are also a part of our nation-wide program to ensure the normal maintenance and necessary expansion of educational facilities for youth even in a time of depression.

Our purpose was not only to provide work in all sections for all parts of the population, but to enable them all to share in the benefits to be obtained from these works so long as bricks and mortar shall endure. As far as it (was) is humanly possible, the Government has followed the policy that among American citizens there should be no forgotten men and no forgotten races. (Applause) It (is) seems to me to be a wise and truly American policy. And we shall continue faithfully to observe it.

Howard University has shared as of right in our public works program. These Government-financed improvements in the facilities of this great center of Negro education should enable it to continue to provide for its students cultural opportunities comparable to those offered by other

first-class institutions of higher learning in the country.

At its last commencement Howard (University) sent forth two hundred and forty-five graduates to join nearly ten thousand Alumni in all parts of the world. Here is a record of which the Negro race may well be proud. It is a record of which America is proud. (Applause) It is a further fulfillment of our dream of providing better and better educational facilities for all our people.

And so, today, we dedicate this new chemistry building, this temple of science, to industrious and ambitious youth. May they come here and learn the lessons of science and carry the benefits of science to their fellow-men.
(Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
October 30, 1936, 10.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mrs. Good,
Chairman.)

No campaign, to me, would be complete without coming back to the old Academy of Music. (Applause) And I was very happy that my train reached New York in time for me to get here in time to listen to that splendid report from our great Governor of our great State.

During the last month or two I have seen a great deal of our country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the Americans I have seen look very different from what they did three and a half years ago. (Applause)

Many important things have happened (to them in those three and a half years) in the meantime. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happier America. (Applause) What I am going to talk to you about for a few minutes, however, is some of the things that have brought about that better, happier America. (to pass) I want to tell you in terms of actual achievement what we in Washington have done -- what we have done to restore prosperity -- what we have done to restore prosperity and what we have done to end abuses.

The first thing before us on that famous fourth of March, 1933, was to give aid to those overtaken by disaster. We did that, and we are not ashamed of giving help to those who needed (help) it. (Applause) We furnished food relief, drought relief, flood relief, work relief. We established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; the Public Works Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people ridicule them as alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are the agencies that have substituted food for starvation; work for idleness; hope instead of dull despair. (Applause)

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the (mechanism) mechanics of our economic order to know that we could not do that, one wheel at a time. We had (had) enough of one-wheel economics. (Applause) We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

And by democratizing the work of agencies like

the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into more practical and helpful channels we furnished fuel for the machine.

We primed the pump by spending government money in direct relief, in work relief, in public works.

We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the National Recovery Administration; (prolonged applause) the Farm Credit Administration; the Soil Conservation Program; the Home Owners Loan Corporation; (applause) the Federal Housing Administration; (applause) the Tennessee Valley Authority; the Resettlement Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration. We set up a sound monetary policy; a sound banking structure; we established reciprocal trade agreements and foreign exchange accords.

Yes, we (set up) created a National Labor Relations Board to improve working conditions and seek industrial peace. We brought the business men of the Nation together to encourage them to increase wages, to shorten working hours, to abolish child labor. (Applause) With labor's aid and backing we took the first great step for workers security by the Social Security Act and I am glad that the Governor has talked to you about it. I am going to talk to you some more about it. It is an act which is now being misrepresented to the workers in a pay-envelope propaganda by a few employers whom you will easily recognize as old-time

exploiters of labor who have always fought against contributing anything themselves to a sound security for the laboring man and his wife and children. (Applause)

That Act, my friends, is a new Magna Charta for those who work. (Applause) In its preparation and (in) its enactment, it was supported not only by organized labor but by those other liberal groups -- unorganized workers, employers, churches, private charities, educators, all those fine men and women throughout the Nation who for many years have believed that modern government can make provision against the hardship of unemployment and the terrors of old age.

And note this: On the passage of this law, in addition to overwhelming support on the part of Democrats in both (the) House and Senate, the country should (note) remember that seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it, and that in the Senate fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it. (Applause)

(This) That fact is perhaps illustrative of the paradox that in the closing days of the campaign a distraught Republican leadership driven to desperation and urged on by the same sinister forces which generation after generation have opposed all social legislation, that Republican leadership now repudiates (their) its own Representatives and Senators in the halls of the Congress and leave them looking

positively silly. (Applause, laughter) (Audience: That includes Al Smith.)

The people of the State of New York recognize in this issue in a national campaign only another form of the struggle to which we have become accustomed in this State for many years past. Every man and woman (here) knows that we have been blessed with these great social reforms because we have had a liberal government in Albany. We know that we would not have had them if the Old Guard Republican leadership had been in power. (Boos)

Governor Lehman has not merely exemplified (applause) in his splendid (interrupted by applause) -- our Governor has not merely exemplified in his splendid objectives this spirit of far-sighted progress, but he has practiced what he has preached, (applause) and thereby has continued to strengthen the civic conscience of the people of this State. There are none among you who believe that on Tuesday next there is one chance in a thousand that New York (State) will turn its government back to the Old Guard. (Applause)

To (go back) return to what the Federal Government has done in the past three and (one) a half years, some people call these things which have re-started our economic machine, they call them waste. Yet you and I know that they (are) have been the means by which our stalled machine (was started again) has been started on the road once more.

And on November third America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; (applause) banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; (applause) -- all of them aimed to safeguard the thrift of our citizens.

By our tax policy and by regulating financial markets, we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun also to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the overweening power and unholy practices of (some) certain utility holding companies. (Applause)

By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yardsticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average American farm and the average American home, be it in the country or in the city. Through loans to private enterprise and in cooperation with cities we promoted slum-clearance and established low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a

successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Yes, some people call these things meddling and interference. But you and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we can build and are determined to build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, cheerier, more certain, more American America. (Applause)

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begun! (Applause)

These are the things that we have done. They are a record of three and a half years crowded with achievements significant of better life for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefitted, because what we have done for each group has produced benefits for every other group. In our policies there are no distinctions between them. There will be none. If we are in trouble, my friends, we are all of us in trouble together. If we are to be prosperous, if we are to be secure, we must all be prosperous and secure together. (Applause)

No, we are getting away from distinctions between East and West and North and South, between country and city. We are becoming a more united America. And that reminds me that I promised, on the train, to read a telegram that came to me on the train. It says this: "In the morning the

sunflower turns to the East. In the afternoon the sunflower turns to the West. And it goes to seed before November."

(Applause)

Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies in the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the few at the top would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. It did not work. (Applause) It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. And, in doing that, we (have bridged) are bridging the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened (up) between them.

An equally important task remains to be done: To go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -- to close the gap by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policies for the future we will carry forward this program of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its

citizens.

On November third, the American people will say that our policy for the future is their policy for the future. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
To the Congress of the United States
The Capitol, Washington, D. C.
January 6, 1941.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs. And fortunately, only one of these -- the four-year War between the States -- ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity. (Applause)

It is true that prior to 1914, the United States often has (had) been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case (however) had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained opposition, clear, definite opposition, to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas. (Applause)

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, in the early days during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

And in like fashion from 1815 to 1914 -- 99 years -- no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength. (Applause)

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, as we remember, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not over-emphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of "pacification" which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny. (Applause)

I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of

life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world -- assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. And the assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to "give to the Congress information of the state of the Union", I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, and Asia, and Africa and Australasia will be dominated by (the) conquerors. And let us remember that the total of those populations in those four continents, the total of those populations and their resources greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere -- yes, many times over.

In times like these it is immature -- and incidentally, untrue -- for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion -- or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors.

"Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety." (Applause)

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed. (Applause)

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the "ism" of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests. (Applause)

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.

But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe -- particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and by their dupes -- and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they -- not we -- will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

And that is why the future of all the American Republics of (is) today is in serious danger.

And that is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive branch of the Government and every member of the Congress face great responsibility -- (and) great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily -- almost exclusively -- to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end. (Applause)

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. (Applause) By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to

acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom. (Applause)

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. And today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases -- and I am sorry to say very important cases -- we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done. (Applause)

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new (and) plant facilities, (and) new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. (Applause) They do not need man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them they must surrender, merely because of present inability to that pay for the weapons which we

know they must have. (Applause)

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons -- a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. And nearly all of their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful in (for) our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense. (Applause)

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid, repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, repaid in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. That (This) is our purpose and our pledge." (Prolonged applause)

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or (and) as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be. (Applause)

And when the dictators, and if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend (up)on how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger. (Applause)

Yes, and we must all prepare -- all of us prepare -- to make the sacrifices that the emergency -- almost as serious as war itself -- demands. whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense -- in defense preparations of any kind -- must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of government to save government. (Applause)

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from (an) unshakeable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that (which) we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all

the things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fibre of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, (and) basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions

and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. And I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I will recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying for today. (applause)
No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause. (Applause)

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change -- in a perpetual peaceful revolution -- a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions -- without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights ^{and} (or) keep them. Our strength is (in) our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory. (Vigorous and prolonged applause)

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THIRD INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL
January 20, 1941.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, MY FRIENDS:

On each national day of Inauguration since 1789, the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to preserve that nation from disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that nation and its institutions from disruption from without.

To us, to us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock -- to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are and what we may be.

If we do not, we risk the real peril of isolation, the real peril of inaction.

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is threescore years and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate -- that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future -- and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true.

Eight years ago, when the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, boldly, decisively.

These later years have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of the (this) democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

Most vital to our present and to our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all, maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the Government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to naught.

No, democracy is not dying. (Applause)

We know it because we've (have) seen it revive -- and grow.

We know it cannot die -- because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise -- an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. (Applause)

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it

still spreading on every continent -- for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and in the end the most unconquerable of all forms of human society. (Applause)

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the standards (objectives) of our time.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors -- all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

(And) A nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult -- even impossible -- to hit upon a single, simple word.

And yet, yet we all understand what it is -- the spirit -- the faith of America. (Applause) It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain people -- who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, and to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all (those) who came here believed

they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

Its vitality was written into our (own) Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth. (Scattered applause)

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the land.

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, to (and) instruct, to (and) inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

Without the body and (the) mind, as all men know, the nation could not live.

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished. (Applause)

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in

our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas -- the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

The destiny of America was proclaimed in words of prophecy spoken by our first President in his first Inaugural in 1789 -- words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered deeply, finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people". (Applause)

If you and I -- if we, in this later day -- (we) lose that sacred fire -- if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear -- then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defense. (Applause)

In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this, for this we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God. (Prolonged applause)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
at the
Dedication of the National Gallery of Art
Washington, D.C.
March 17, 1941, 10.00 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is with a very real sense of satisfaction that I accept for the people of the United States and on their behalf this National Gallery and the collections it contains. The giver of (the) this building has matched the richness of his gift with the modesty of his spirit, stipulating that the Gallery shall be known not by his name but by the nation's. And those other collectors of paintings and of sculpture who have already joined, or who propose to join, their works of art to Mr. Mellon's -- Mr. Kress and Mr. Widener -- have felt the same desire to establish, not a memorial to themselves, but a monument to the art that they love and the country to which they belong. To these collections we now gratefully add the gift (from) of Miss Ellen Bullard and three anonymous donors, which marks the beginning of the Gallery's collection of prints; and also the loan collection of early American paintings from Mr. Chester Dale.

There have been, in the past, many gifts of great paintings and of famous works of art to the American people. Most of the wealthy men of the last century who bought, for their own satisfaction, the masterpieces of European collections, ended by presenting their purchases to their cities or to their towns. And so great works of art have a way of breaking out of private ownership into public use. They belong so obviously to all who love them -- they are so clearly the property not of their single owners but of all men everywhere -- that the private rooms and houses where they (are) have lovingly hung in the past become in time too narrow for their presence.

The true collectors are the collectors who understand this -- the collectors of great paintings who feel that they can never truly own, but only gather and preserve for all who love them, the treasures that they have found.

But though there have been many public gifts of art in the past, the gift of this National Gallery, dedicated to the entire nation, (and) containing a considerable part of the most important work brought to this country from the continent of Europe, has necessarily a new significance. I think, I think it signifies a relation -- a new relation here made visible in paint and in stone -- between the whole people of this country, and the old inherited tradition of the arts. And we shall remember that these halls of beauty, the (creation) conception of a great American architect, John Russell Pope, combine the classicism of the past with the convenience of today.

In accepting this building and the paintings and other art that it contains, the people of the United States accept a part in that inheritance for themselves. They accept it for themselves not because this Gallery is given to them -- though they are thankful for the gift. They accept it for themselves because, in the past few years, they have come to understand that the inheritance is theirs and that, like other inheritors of other things of great value, they have a duty toward it.

There was a time when the people of this country would not have thought that the inheritance of art belonged to them or that they had responsibilities to guard it. A few generations ago, the people of this country were often taught by their writers and by their critics and by their teachers to believe that art was something foreign to America and to themselves -- something imported from another continent, something (and) from an age which was not theirs -- something they had no part in, save to go to see it in (a)

some guarded room on holidays or Sundays.

But recently, within the last few years (,) -- yes, in our lifetime -- they have discovered that they have a part. They have seen in their own towns, in their own villages, in school houses, in post offices, in the back rooms of shops and stores, pictures painted by their sons, their neighbors -- people they have known and lived beside and talked to. They have seen, across these last few years, rooms full of painting and sculpture by Americans, walls covered with the painting (of) by Americans -- some of it good, some of it not so good, but all of it native, human, eager, and alive -- all of it painted by their own kind in their own country, and painted about things that they know and look at often and have touched and loved.

The people of this country know now, whatever they were taught or thought of, or thought they knew before, that art is not something just to be owned (but) or something to be made: that it is the act of making and not the act of owning (which) that is art. And knowing this they know also that art is not a treasure in the past or an importation from another (country) land, but part of the present life of all the living and creating peoples -- all who make and build; and, most of all, the young and vigorous peoples who have made and built our present wide country.

It is for this reason that the people of America accept the inheritance of these ancient arts. Whatever these paintings may have been to men who looked at them (a) generations back -- today they are not only works of art. Today they are the symbols of the human spirit, (and) symbols of the world the freedom of the human spirit has made -- and, incidentally, a world against which armies now are raised and countries overrun and men imprisoned and their work destroyed.

To accept, today, the work of German painters such as Holbein and

Durer, (and) of Italians like Botticelli and Raphael, (and) of painters of the Low Countries like Van Dyck and Rembrandt, and of famous Frenchmen, famous Spaniards -- to accept this work today (on behalf of) for the people of this democratic nation is to assert the belief of the people of this democratic nation in a human spirit which now is everywhere endangered and which, in many countries where it first found form and meaning, has been rooted out and broken and destroyed.

To accept this work today is to assert the purpose of the people of America that the freedom of the human spirit and human mind which has produced the world's great art and all its science -- shall not be utterly destroyed.

Seventy-eight years ago, in the third year of the War Between the States, men and women gathered here in the Capital of a divided nation, here in Washington, to see the dome above the Capitol completed and to see the bronze Goddess of Liberty set upon the top. It had been an expensive and laborious business, diverting money and labor from the prosecution of the war, and certain (citizens) critics -- for there were critics in 1863 -- certain critics found much to criticize. There were new marble pillars in the Senate wing of the Capitol; (and) there was a bronze door for the central portal and other such expenditures and embellishments. But the President of the United States, whose name was Lincoln, when he heard (the) those criticisms, answered: "If people see the Capitol going on, it is a sign that we intend (the) this Union shall go on". (Applause)

We may borrow the words for our own. We too intend the Union shall go on. We intend it shall go on, carrying with it the great tradition of the human spirit which created it.

The dedication of this Gallery to a living past, and to a greater

and more richly living future, is the measure of the earnestness of our intention that the freedom of a human spirit shall go on (.) and too.

(Applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
LABOR DAY
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

On this day -- this American holiday -- we (celebrate) are
celebrating the rights of free laboring men and women.

The preservation of these rights is (now) vitally important
now, not only to us who enjoy them -- but to the whole future of Christian
civilization.

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the win-
ning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons
on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of (the)
this world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over
the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and develop-
ing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our
entire industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet
actually touched our (own) shores?

We are not a warlike people. (We have) We've never sought glory
as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not
interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one
square inch of the territory of any other nation.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose (which) that inspires
that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our funda-
mental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by Hitler's
violent attempt to rule the world.

These rights were established by our forefathers on the field

of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas all over the world.

(There has) There's never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- between all of us Americans: Interdependence of interests, privileges, opportunities, responsibilities -- interdependence of rights.

That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed that they could divide us and conquer us from within.

These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- a Navy gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia exist -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know also that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

These enemies know that our Army is increasing daily in its all-round strength.

These enemies know that today the chief American fighters in the

battles now raging are those engaged in American industry, employers and employees alike.

These enemies know that the course of American production in the past year has shown enormous gains and that the product of these industries is moving to the battle fronts -- the battle fronts against Hitlerism in increasing volume each day.

But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in (old) fields--old and new.

I give solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorship(s) has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor (has) had been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

Trade unionism is a forbidden philosophy under these rule or ruin dictators. For trade unionism demands full freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade unionism has helped to give to every one who toils the position of dignity which is his due.

The present position of labor in the United States as an inter-

dependent unit in the life of the nation has not come about by chance. It has been an evolutionary process of a healthy democracy at work.

Hitler has not worked that way. He will not -- he cannot work that way. Just as he denies all rights to individuals, he must deny all rights to groups -- groups of labor, (of) or business -- groups of learning, of the church. He has abolished trade unions as ruthlessly as he has persecuted religion.

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what Nazi domination of the world means than has organized labor -- what it means to their standard of living, their freedom -- their lives. No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazi-ism, in the preservation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy throughout the world.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine in no small part the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

Yes, we are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of insane violence have been let loose by Hitler upon this earth. We must do our full part in conquering them. For these forces may be unleashed on this nation as we go about our business of protecting the proper interests of our country.

The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even

ask me to negotiate with Hitler -- to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do, in fact, ask me to become the modern Benedict Arnold and betray all that I hold dear -- my devotion to our freedom -- to our churches -- to our country. This course I have rejected -- I reject it again.

Instead, I know that I speak the conscience and determination of the American people when I say that we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.

American workers, (and) American farmers, American businessmen, (and) American church(men) people -- all of us together -- have the great responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a democratic world on enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some future President of the United States that we did our work faithfully and well.

AS SPOKEN FOR THE NEWSREELS

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars. In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of the world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

* * * * *

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent. The right of freedom of worship, for example, would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise. That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- all of us Americans: Interdependence of interests, and privileges, and opportunities, and responsibilities -- interdependence of rights. That is what unites us -- unites men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, (of) and all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed that they could divide us and conquer us from within.

* * * * *

I give solemn warning to those people who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled

force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
BROADCAST FROM THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
December 8, 1941 -- 12.30 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, AND MR. SPEAKER, AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES: (TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:)

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 -- a date which will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American Island of Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to (the) our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against

Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

But always will (we) our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us. (applause)

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to (loud and prolonged cheers and applause) absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again (endanger us) endanger us (again). (applause)

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces -- with the unbounding determination of our people -- we will gain the inevitable triumph -- so help us God. (applause)

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire. (loud and prolonged cheers and applause).

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE,

December 8, 1941.

CHRISTMAS GREETING OF THE
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN, WINSTON CHURCHILL,
ON THE OCCASION OF THE LIGHTING OF THE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE,
DELIVERED FROM THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 24, 1941, at 5.10 P.M., E.S.T.

THE PRIME MINISTER:

Fellow workers in the cause of Freedom:

I have the honor to add a pendant to the necklace of that Christmas goodwill and kindness with which my illustrious friend -- the President -- has encircled the homes and families of the United States by his Message of Christmas Eve, which he has just delivered.

I spend this anniversary and festival far from my country, far from my family, and yet I cannot truthfully say that I feel far from home. Whether it be -- (applause) -- whether it be by the ties of blood on my mother's side, or the friendships I have developed here over many years of active life, or the commanding sentiment of comradeship in the common cause of great peoples who speak the same language, who kneel at the same altars, and to a very large extent pursue the same ideals -- whichever it may be, or all of them together -- I cannot feel myself a stranger here in the center and at the summit of the United States. (applause) I feel a sense of unity and fraternal association, which, added to the kindness of your welcome, convinces me that I have a right to sit at your fireside and share your Christmas joys. (applause)

Fellow workers, fellow soldiers in the Cause:

This is a strange Christmas Eve. Almost the whole world is locked in deadly struggle. Armed with the most terrible weapons which science can devise, the nations advance upon each other. Ill would it be for us, this

Christmas-tide, if we were not sure that no greed for the lands or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others, had led us to the field. And ill would it be for us if that were so.

Here in the midst of war, raging and roaring over all the lands and seas, creeping nearer to our hearths and homes; here amid all these tumults, we have tonight the peace of the spirit in each cottage home and in every generous heart.

Therefore, we might cast aside -- for this night at least -- the cares and dangers which beset us, and make for the children an evening of happiness in a world of storm. Here then -- for one night only -- each home throughout the English-speaking world should be a brightly lighted island of happiness and peace.

Let the children have their night of fun and laughter. Let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their play. Let us grownups share to the full in their unstinted pleasures, before we turn again to the stern tasks and formidable year that lie before us.

Resolve that by our sacrifice and daring these same children shall not be robbed of their inheritance, or denied their right to live in a free and decent world.

And so -- (applause) -- and so in God's Mercy, a Happy Christmas to you all. (applause)

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS TO THE NATION
DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE SOUTH PORTICO OF THE WHITE HOUSE
AND BROADCAST OVER A NATIONAL AND WORLDWIDE HOOKUP
DECEMBER 24, 1941, 5.05 P.M., E.S.T.
UPON THE OCCASION OF THE LIGHTING OF THE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS TREE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

(the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, was standing at the side of the President while he was speaking. The Prime Minister also delivered an address, which is appended.)

And now, for the ninth time, I light the living Christmas Community Tree of the Nation's Capital.

(the President then pressed a button, and the Tree was lighted)

FELLOW WORKERS FOR FREEDOM:

There are many men and women in America -- sincere and faithful men and women -- who are asking themselves this Christmas:

How can we light our trees? How can we give our gifts? How can we meet and worship with love and with uplifted (hearts) spirit and heart in a world at war, a world of fighting and suffering and death?

How can we pause, even for a day, even for Christmas Day, in our urgent labor of arming a decent humanity against the enemies which beset it?

How can we put the world aside, as men and women put the world aside in peaceful years, to rejoice in the birth of Christ?

These are natural -- inevitable -- questions in every part of the world which is resisting the evil thing.

And even as we ask these questions, we know the answer. There is another preparation demanded of this nation beyond and beside the preparation of weapons and materials of war. There is demanded also of us

(also) the preparation of our hearts; the arming of our hearts. And when we make ready our hearts for the labor and the suffering and the ultimate victory which lie ahead, then we observe Christmas Day -- with all of its memories and all of its meanings -- as we should.

Looking into the days to come, I have set aside a Day of Prayer, and in that Proclamation I have said:

"The year 1941 has brought upon our nation a war of aggression by powers dominated by arrogant rulers whose selfish purpose is to destroy free institutions. They would thereby take from the freedom-loving peoples of the earth the hard-won liberties gained over many centuries.

"The new year of 1942 calls for the courage and the resolution of old and young to help to win a world struggle in order that we may preserve all that we hold dear.

"We are confident in our devotion to country, in our love of freedom, in our inheritance of courage. But our strength, as the strength of all men everywhere, is of greater avail as God upholds us.

"Therefore, I do hereby appoint the first day of the year 1942 as a day of prayer, of asking forgiveness for our shortcomings of the past, of consecration to the tasks of the present, of asking God's help in days to come.

"We need His guidance that this people may be a humble people, that it may be truthful in spirit but strong in the conviction of the right; steadfast to endure sacrifice, and brave to achieve a victory of liberty and peace."

Our strongest weapon in this war is that conviction of the dignity and brotherhood of man which Christmas Day signifies -- more than any other day or any other symbol.

Against enemies who preach the principles of hate and practise them, we set our faith in human love and in God's care for us and all men everywhere.

It is in that spirit, and with particular thoughtfulness of those, our sons and brothers, who serve in our armed forces on land and sea, near and far -- those who serve for us and endure for us -- that we light our Christmas candles now across (this) the continent from one coast to the other on this Christmas (evening) Eve.

We have joined with many other nations and peoples in a very great cause. Millions of them have been engaged in the task of defending good with their life-blood for months and for years.

One of their great leaders stands beside me. He and his people in many parts of the world are having their Christmas trees with their little children around them, just as we do here. He and his people have pointed the way in courage and in sacrifice for the sake of little children everywhere.

And so I am asking my associate, (and) my old and good friend, to say a word to the people of America, old and young, tonight -- Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain. (applause)
